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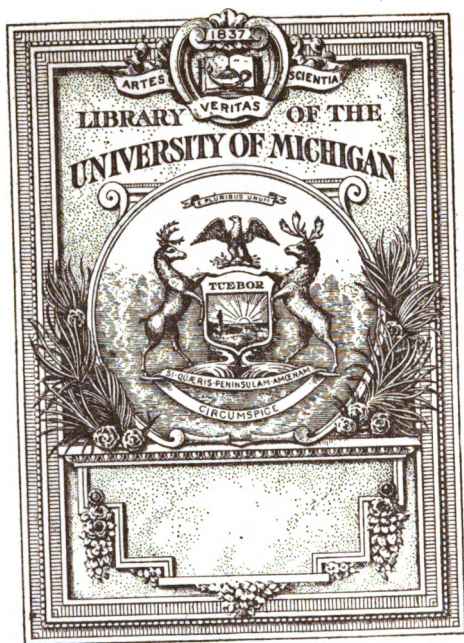
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THE PRIVILEGE OF EDUCATION

A HISTORY OF ITS EXTENSION

BY

GEORGE L. JACKSON

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The University of Michigan*



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THE GORHAM PRESS

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THE GORHAM PRESS, BOSTON, U. S. A.

FOREWORD

HISTORY shows that educational privilege has depended upon the conception that some natures and some pursuits have been thought much more worthy than others. "Nature," says Aristotle, "endeavors to make the bodies of free-men and slaves different; the latter strong for necessary use; the former erect and useless for such operations, but useful for political life. . . . It is evident, then, that by nature some men are free, others slaves, and that in the case of the latter, slavery is both beneficial and just. . . . Instruction . . . is plainly powerless to turn the mass of men to nobility and goodness. For it is not in their nature to be guided by reverence, but by fear, nor to abstain from low things because they are disgraceful, but because they entail punishment."

The masses according to ancient social and political theories, were to be governed, to be manipulated, to be the source of supplies. They had no need for instruction but rather to become habituated to such coercive controls as should impress upon them the power and worth of those who governed.

The status of women in ancient times was much

like that of the slaves, perhaps worse in some respects. Women were looked upon as inferior to men since from the military, political, and industrial points of view they were of little value. To quote Aristotle again, "The male is by nature fitter for command than the female, just as the elder and full-grown is superior to the younger and more immature." Women's activities were definitely circumscribed by home duties which were learned by imitation, thus there was no demand for intellectual training.

Abnormal children—sense and mental defectives—were allowed by the ancients to die from exposure, to be sold into slavery, or to be generally neglected. The advent of Christianity brought about a decided change with respect to the exposure of children to die, but failed in every respect to better their condition through training of a suitable character.

It is the aim of this study to set forth the conditions and movements which have extended the privilege of education to those who, in the beginning of educational theory and practice in Western Europe, were neglected.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. Education in Greece.....	9
II. Education in Rome.....	19
III. Early Christian and Mediæval Education	28
IV. Education During the Renaissance and Reformation	44
V. Education in the Seventeenth Century	59
VI. Education in the Eighteenth Century	70
VII. Education in the Nineteenth Century	92
VIII. The Education of the Abnormal Child	131
IX. Summary and Criticism.....	137

THE PRIVILEGE OF EDUCATION

THE PRIVILEGE OF EDUCATION

I

EDUCATION IN GREECE

THE statement is made by Maine that, "except for the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin." Whatever exceptions one may take to this enthusiastic appreciation of the Greek genius, none can be urged against the abiding influence of Greek educational theory and practice throughout the entire history of western civilization. To know the Greek conception of the nature of man with its powers and limitations particularized in the individual, of society which was these powers and limitations writ large in class divisions, of the formal educative process which selected the individuals to receive its benefits on the basis of mental qualities and social status, of the low worth of all knowledges and skills connected with industrial and professional life—to know these dominant characteristics of Greek life is to understand the traditional forces which are even now shaping our education.

The philosophers in their analysis of mental life and function made two grand divisions: the rational and the irrational, the speculative and the practical. The higher value was put upon the rational and speculative, and their cultivation was consequently of greater educational moment. The training of these powers was the true function of what we term secondary and higher education.

The irrational and the practical were to be moulded by certain common and traditional controls fundamental in the development of character. These were brought to bear upon the young both in an educative and a coercive way by the social groups to which they belonged, in order that proper habits might be formed, in order to bring the irrational soul under subjection. This in Greek practice was the sound basis of elementary education, and, since all normal individuals may become habituated, elementary education might be extended to all, even to girls under proper home conditions.

The formative function of elementary education is definitely shown in Plato's *Protagoras*:

And when the boy has learned his letters and is beginning to understand what is written, as before he understood only what was spoken, they put into his hands the works of the great poets, which he reads at school; in these are contained many admonitions, and many tales, and praises and encomia of ancient famous men, which he is

required to learn by heart, in order that he may imitate or emulate them and desire to be like them. Then, again, the teachers of the lyre take similar care that their young disciple is temperate and gets into no mischief; and when they taught him the use of the lyre, they introduce him to the poems of other excellent poets, who are the lyric poets; and these they set to music, and make their harmonies and rhythms quite familiar to the children's souls, in order that they may learn to be more gentle, and harmonious, and rhythmical, and so more fitted for speech and action; for the life of man in every part has need of harmony and rhythm. Then they send them to the master of gymnastic, in order that their bodies may better minister to the virtuous mind, and that they may not be compelled through bodily weakness to play the coward in war or on any other occasion. *This is what is done by those who have the means, and those who have the means are the rich; their children begin education soonest and leave off latest.*¹

But, as previously suggested, there is another and a higher side to man's nature which habituation to social controls touches, if at all, but lightly. This higher side is the ability to guide one's activities by right reason, *a power capable of being exercised only by the few*. The development of this power depends upon special instruction and discipline; upon the expenditure of time, effort, and money. It functions in the realm of speculation and also in the practical aspects of life, but the speculative function is the chief concern of the

1. Plato's *Protagoras*, 325C-326D. The italics are mine.

systems of education outlined by Plato and Aristotle. These educational theorists sought to form permanent intellectual interests of a disinterested or non-utilitarian character which should be pursued for their own sake, which should enable a man to spend his leisure worthily. Aristotle says:

It is evident that there is a sort of education in which parents should train their sons, not as being useful or necessary, but because it is liberal and noble. . . . To be always seeking after the useful does not become free and exalted souls.²

The practical intellect, as stated by Aristotle, is subordinate to the speculative but probably no greater proportion of educated Greeks were given to speculation than is to be found in the educated class to-day. The upper-class Greeks were busy men of affairs. For them, statesmanship, diplomacy, war,—in short all activities that comprised the forces of social control—were proper avenues for the development and expression of personality. "Politics," says Aristotle, "is the highest of all human sciences for all experience leads up to it." These Greeks had need of a trained mind, of good judgment, and of wide experience. On the whole, they put the emphasis upon the training of the practical rather than the speculative aspect of reason as defined by the

2. Aristotle's *Politics*, VIII, 3.

philosophers; yet this emphasis did not necessarily eliminate the formation of interests which were valuable when pursued for themselves alone, interests which enabled a man to spend his leisure time worthily.

In practice, then, the cultivated Greek gentleman and no other combined the two ideals in varying degrees. His education had a bearing on life from the side of social control—the business of life. At the same time through stimulating intellectual interests of a liberal character he developed proper controls in another field—the leisure of life. This was the aim of the *liberal education* as it actually functioned. It must be noted, however, that the liberal education had no connection with the practical used in the sense of industrial or professional training. Greek theory and practice definitely set the liberal education apart from such pursuits, for they were regarded as servile, and to be mastered through apprenticeship and habituation.

To the upper class in Athens, belonged the conception and the realization of the *free man*, that is, a man who was obliged to learn nothing for the purpose of utility, who was not dependent upon the favor or patronage of others. Such a man could give himself without let or hinderance to the management of his property, to affairs of government, and to self-cultivation as defined by

his times. The conceptions of the free man and of the liberal education were united indissolubly.

In the course of time fortunes amassed through trade made it possible for those not well-born to lead the gentlemanly life, and, since Athens was a democracy, to take an active part in the affairs of the state. For all practical purposes, such were free men and they secured for their sons the benefit of a liberal education. It is evident, then, that this conception of education opened a chasm between the *many* and the *few*; and from the time of its inception, there were two streams of culture—that of the many, springing from custom and tradition, and that of the few, rising out of the cultivated intelligence essentially proper to man's highest stage of development.

The liberal education is the child of a polity based upon definite class-distinctions, upon wealth, upon slavery, upon a social theory that that study which fits one for the earning of a livelihood is illiberal, and that labor is unworthy, since it marks a condition of servitude and mediocre mental ability. It was in these conditions that our present day secondary and higher education had its origin.

Until about the middle of the fifth century B. C. the education of all free-born Athenian citizens was elementary in its character. The only advantage that the upper class had over the lower was merely the opportunity to carry education of

the same general practical and cultural nature to a more thorough completion as is stated by Plato in the *Protagoras*. There was no fundamental difference and consequently there was no mental or cultural chasm between the poor and the well-born and wealthy. But the fifth century saw the beginnings in Athens of a mental activity which resulted in the formulation of a definite subject—matter that could be mastered only by prolonged study under competent instruction. These subjects were the liberal arts. They were pursued by the few for reasons already mentioned; they constituted the curriculum of formal education; they are with us at the present time.

Plato is the notable exception in the history of Ionian Greek education to the general opinion that women were inferior to men. Women are known to have been numbered among his students in the Academy. Perhaps nothing brings out the accepted point of view with respect to the worth and social status of women more clearly than a little note written by one Hilarion, sojourning in Alexandria, to his wife, Alis:

If—good luck to you—you bear offspring, if it be a male, let it live, if it is a female, expose it.

Demosthenes in the *Oration against Neaera* gives further evidence of the status of the wife:

Companions (*hetaera*) we keep for pleasure, concubines for daily attendance upon our person, wives to bear us legitimate children and be our faithful housekeepers.

Isomachus in Xenophon's *Economics* sets forth the usual education given to girls :

"But pray tell me," said Socrates, "did you instruct your wife how to manage your house, or was it her father and mother that gave her sufficient instruction to order the house before she came to you?"

"My wife," answered Isomachus, "was fifteen years old when I married her; and until then she had been so negligently brought up, that she hardly knew anything of worldly affairs."

"I suppose," said Socrates, "she could spin and card and set her servants to work."

"As for such things, good Socrates," replied Isomachus, "she had her share of knowledge."

Wives and daughters were kept in the seclusion of the home and allowed to leave the house only by special permission. Holding such a status in society as has been indicated and hedged round about from all influences that would open her mind and broaden her experience, it naturally follows that a daughter of an upper-class Athenian would be given little education other than that of a domestic character. From her mother she learned, at most, to read and to write; to know the myths upon which her religion was based; to spin, weave, and embroider. The secluded life and the slight intellectual training made the wife, as a

rule, unfit for real companionship with her keen-witted, broadly experienced husband. Consequently, he turned to the *hetaera*, who were usually not of Athenian birth, for the mental stimulus and companionship which his own laws and customs made impossible to enjoy with his family. Pericles had his Aspasia; Plato, his Archeanassa; Aristotle, his Herphyllis; Isocrates, his Metanera; Menander, his Glycera. These were women of high culture, much above, of course, the level of their class; yet the fact remains that in Ionian cities the women who were free to cultivate their intellectual powers did so, when judged by present standards, at the cost of their good repute.

Schools in Athens and in the ancient world in general, until somewhat systematized by the Roman emperors, were private ventures. Tuition was charged in varying amounts depending upon the ability and character of the teacher and the location of the school. Information is lacking with respect to the fees charged for secondary and higher instruction before the appointment of teachers by imperial authority; but from a speech of Isocrates in which he defends himself against the charge of being very wealthy, one finds his fees to have been about \$200 per pupil for instruction covering approximately three years. Evidence with respect to the number of schools

throughout Hellas is also unsatisfactory. According to Xenophon, in all Greek territory education was of the character described above in the discussion of Athenian conditions, except in Crete and Sparta which had systems peculiar to themselves. References here and there in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Pausanias indicate the presence of schools in all the Greek villages. Secondary education was confined, except for the strolling sophist, to the larger communities.

Among the free, male Greeks, elementary education was common. Aristophanes, wishing to sound in his hatred of democracy, the depths of Athenian ignorance, can find no greater ignoramus than a man who can read only in a stumbling fashion, and Clisthenes evidently could count upon general ability to write, since for particular purposes he made use of the written ballot in the Assembly. But the privilege of secondary and higher education was extended only to the few. It will be one of our main lines of interest to show the strength of the Greek theory as it becomes traditional, and the forces which have gradually brought about the general extension of this privilege.

II

EDUCATION IN ROME

ROMAN population was divided into four social classes: senators; knights; plebeians, clients, freedmen; and slaves. The major part belonged to the third class and it was possible for individual members, particularly during the Empire, through wealth, merit, or favor to rise to the upper classes. The avenues leading to social betterment for freedmen were much more numerous than those which the freedman, though poor, felt it within his dignity to pursue. Advocacy and law were the callings of highest social repute for the poor but free-born, and these were also looked upon as reputable activities for even senators and knights. Theoretically these were liberal pursuits, for fees were at one time forbidden by law, though practically the spirit of the restriction was broken since presents might be received for legal advice or for pleading. The upper class point of view with respect to the activities that were considered illiberal, ungentlemanly, and vulgar are summed up by Cicero as follows:

Now with regard to what arts and means of acquiring wealth are to be regarded as worthy and what disreputable, we have been taught as follows. In the first place, those sources of emolument are condemned that incur the public hatred; such as those of tax-gatherers and usurers.

We are likewise to account as ungenteel and mean, the gains of all hired workmen whose source of profit is not their art but their labor; for their very wages are the consideration of their servitude. We are also to despise all who retail from merchant's goods for prompt sale; for they never can succeed unless they lie most abominably. For nothing is more disgraceful than insincerity. All mechanical laborers are by their profession mean. For a workshop can contain nothing befitting a gentleman. . . .

But those professions that involve a higher degree of intelligence or a greater amount of utility, such as medicine, architecture, the teaching of the liberal arts are honorable *in those to whose rank in life they are suited*. As to merchandizing, if on a small scale it is mean; but if it is extensive and rich, brings numerous commodities from all parts of the world, and gives bread to numbers without fraud, it is not so despicable. But if a merchant satiated, or rather satisfied with his profits, as he used sometimes to leave the open sea and make the harbor, shall from the harbor step into an estate and lands—such a man seems more justly deserving of praise. For of all gainful professions, nothing is better, nothing more pleasing, nothing more delightful, nothing better becomes a well-bred man than agriculture.³

Greek influence on Roman education begins about the middle of the third century B. C. with the translation of the *Odyssey* by Andronicus, a Greek freedman. Rome at this time had no literature of her own, hence this was a necessary step in laying the foundation for the development of intellectual interests. A new culture was now opened to the privileged class based upon a for-

3. Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, XLII. The italics are mine.

eign language and literature, one that was concerned with intellectual interests and hence not to be assimilated through experience—talking, looking, doing—as had been the custom in early Rome and pre-Socratic Greece. This culture, the liberal education of the Greeks, was restricted to the class in Rome who held the same social points of view as expressed above by Cicero. It was a class education; and in Rome, as in Athens some two hundred years before, the chasm was opened between the many and the few. “In education along with the simple popular instruction or special training, an exclusive *humanitas* developed itself and eradicated the last remnants of the old social equality.”⁴ The earlier or native culture was looked upon as plebian or vulgar; the imported and select culture, formulated as the seven liberal arts in the fourth century A. D., was looked upon and sanctioned as properly aristocratic.

Schools and teachers in Rome seem to have been of no particular concern of the state until the time of Vespasian. Children were taught in the home, a practice never entirely abandoned; or parents arranged individually or in groups for their instruction by private teachers. The state began to participate in educational matters when Vespasian established at Rome chairs of Greek

4. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, III, 439.

and Roman eloquence and this policy was continued by later rulers throughout the Empire. As a result, municipal, state, and private rhetorical and grammar schools were found in all considerable places. These schools furnished instruction in the liberal arts and aimed to produce the man of character, of judgment in public affairs, and of skill and persuasion in speaking.

Fees charged for schooling throw considerable light on the problem of securing educational advantages. Horace, for example, states that the fee of the elementary teacher in his time was about eight cents per month; Juvenal's tuition in the grammar school was thirty cents per month and in the rhetorical school four times that amount. Diocletian's legal schedule of wages and prices enacted in the late third century fixed the monthly rates that might be charged by teachers per pupil as:

Gymnastic teacher	\$.216
Pedagogue216
Elementary teacher216
Teacher of arithmetic326
Teacher of stenography326
Teacher of writing216
Teacher of Greek, Latin and geometry...	.87
Teacher of rhetoric	1.09
Teacher of architecture435 ⁵

5. Abbott, F. F. *The common people of ancient Rome*, 162.

Except in a few instances, the privilege of education in Rome was dependent upon ability to pay tuition fees which, though apparently small judging from Diocletian's schedule, made the general extension of education impossible; for wages were low and prices were high. However, we find that Trajan enabled municipalities in Italy out of the revenues from lands which he granted them to educate five thousand poor children. Under Alexander Severus, the children of poor but free-born citizens of Rome were educated at the expense of the state. The attitude of Trajan and Severus toward the extension of education was characteristic of these emperors alone, and, judging from Pliny's letter which says,

These children were reared at the expense of the state, to be its supporters in war, its ornaments in peace. Some day they will fill our camps and our tribes; and from them will arise sons who will no longer need assistance.⁶

this education was elementary in character and aimed to give such fundamentals of training and conduct as should form the honest, dependable citizen. The inability of the poor to provide a modicum of education for their children without aid and the connection between free education and poverty, so long to be maintained, are shown here definitely.

6. Pliny, *Panegyric*, 28.

An instance of private benefaction in the interest of extending educational facilities is to be found in a letter of Pliny to Tacitus⁷ in which he speaks of donating one-third the necessary amount required to maintain a rhetorical school in the town of Como, since there was not a school of this type there, and boys were obliged to go to Milan for higher instruction. Acts of this sort would rarely come to us as a matter of record; but it is probable that they were very few since philanthropy was not a virtue of the ancient world.

The economic and social points of view as connected with the liberal education and its extension were the same in Rome as in Athens. On this score Horace speaking of the care his father took in giving him an education may be cited:

. . . Though he was not rich, for his farm was a poor one, he would not send me to the school of Flavius, to which the sons of the centurions, the great men there, used to go with their bags and slates on their arm, taking the teacher's fee on the Ides of eight months of the year; but he had the spirit to carry me, when a boy, to Rome, there to learn *the liberal arts which any knight or senator would have his own son taught.*⁸

Probably there were very few villages in the Empire where Roman customs and ideas dominated,

7. Pliny, IV, XIII.

8. Horace, *Satires*, I, 6.

in which an elementary school was not to be found; and the tuition fees were reasonable enough to permit a considerable number of the children of the third estate to learn to read, write, and calculate. This, however, was all that society expected of the children of this class; the father of Horace gave his son an exceptional opportunity.

The training given the Roman girl was thoroughly practical in character. She was taught to spin, to weave, and to fashion clothing. In upper class homes she was given instruction either by the mother or by tutors. The girls of the middle class attended school. This practice, differing so greatly from that of the Greeks, is evidenced by Livy's tale of Virginia and also by Martial, who asks:

Is it a poet's ambition to be read out by a hoarse and pompous schoolmaster to an unsympathetic crowd of boys and girls?⁹

The practice of reading by girls is shown by Ovid, who says:

There is no play of the pleasing Menander without an amour, and yet he is accustomed to be read by youths and maidens.¹⁰

9. Martial, *Epigrams*, IX, 68.

10. Ovid, *Tristia*, II, 36.

The enforced absence from home of many Romans due to long continued military service gave great opportunity to women of the upper class to taste the power of control, and to cultivate their judgment in managing the family estate. The wealth that poured into Rome as the result of her conquests, freed many Roman matrons from all care and responsibility in the home, and frequently they employed tutors who initiated them into the learning and philosophy of the Greeks. Cornelia, the second wife of Pompey, may be cited as an example of the educated Roman matron. According to Plutarch,

This young woman possessed many charms besides youthful beauty, for she was well instructed in letters, in playing the lyre, and in geometry, and she had been accustomed to listen to philosophical discussions with profit. In addition to this, she had a disposition free from all pedantic display, which such acquirements usually breed in women.

In the latter days of the Republic and during the Empire, the upper class Roman women had attained great freedom and influence. They studied, if they wished, all branches of learning known to the times, were allowed to plead in the courts, and influenced political movements both for good and for ill.

In passing, it should be noted that the Roman educational ideals, the liberal education, and the

proper relations of education to social classes were, accepted by the Renaissance. Also the educated woman of the Renaissance was of much the same type, character, and influence as the educated woman of Rome.

III

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND MEDIÆVAL EDUCATION

THE entrance of Christianity as a factor in the educational situation during the Empire adds nothing to the extension of the privilege to learn. The early Church was recruited for the most part from the slaves and the lower section of the third estate. The education of the slave depended upon the will of his master, and the third estate, as has been pointed out, was privileged, if able, to learn the rudiments.

Many persecutors of the Christians were men who had had the benefit of the liberal education; hence, in the minds of the Christians, paganism and the liberal arts were united closely. Upon the restoration of the worship of the gods by Julian, Libanius (314-394), the great pagan rhetorician, says on this point:

There has come back from exile, in company with the practice of holy rites, honor for the study of letters; not alone because letters are, perhaps, not the least part of such practice, but also because you were aroused by no less a thing than letters to reverence for the gods.

And again:

These two things, letters and the practice of holy rites, seem to me to be closely allied and akin to each other.

The aim of Christianity was to improve the soul and to train the individual to lead a virtuous life. Those of the Christians who had a desire for mental training were of necessity obliged to read pagan literature and philosophy—there was nothing else. But in pursuing these studies, since their aim was not the same, they narrowed the whole scope and conception of education when looked upon as a liberal training, and this narrow conception continued in force until the Renaissance. One of the first to give expression to this narrow point of view was Clement of Alexandria:

I call him truly learned who brings everything to bear upon the truth; so that from geometry, and music, and grammar, and philosophy itself, culling what is useful, he guards the faith against attack.¹¹

The authority of the learned Fathers and monks in moral and spiritual matters, which after all were of most concern, overshadowed and made unnecessary a general intellectual development. The purely Christian schools were the catechu-

11. Walden, J. W. H. *The universities of ancient Greece*, 109.

12. Quoted by McCormick, P. J. *History of education*, 74.

menal in which instruction was given in Christian doctrine—no secular instruction at all—in preparation for the sacrament of baptism. These schools reached their fullest development in the third and the fourth century, gradually disappearing with the practice of infant baptism and the adoption of Christianity as the state religion. The barbarian invasions and the breaking down of Roman civilization, the growth of authority in the matter of guiding conduct, the force of an "other-worldly" ideal, the breaking down of industry, the withdrawal from society of large numbers of the more intellectually and spiritually minded were active agents in reducing western Europe to a state of illiteracy. The clergy was the *only* class that had any desire for, or could make use of, even the rudiments of learning; yet scarcely a Council of the Church does not deplore the fact that many of the priests are educationally unfit. Despite these conditions, intellectual tradition throughout the period smouldered in cathedral and monastic schools to be fanned to a blaze in the universities of the twelfth and succeeding centuries.

During the early period of the Church, forceful women took a leading part not only as martyrs, but as teachers and prophets. But as the Church took on institutional form, the women

were relegated to a condition of passive obedience. The influence of St. Paul in establishing the place and function of woman in the Church was of great importance.

"Let your women," he says, "keep silent in the churches; for it is not permitted them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law."¹³

Clement of Alexandria in the *Instructor* says:

But above all, it seems right that we turn away from the sight of women. For it is a sin not only to touch, but to look; and he who is rightly trained must especially avoid them.¹⁴

Current opinion, again, is expressed by various churchmen as follows:

This is the way in which Tertullian addresses women: "Do you not know that each one of you is an Eve? The sentence of God on this sex of yours lives in this age. the guilt must of necessity live too. You are the devil's gateway; you are the unsealer of that forbidden tree; you are the first deserter of the divine law; you are she who persuaded him whom the devil was not valiant enough to attack. You destroyed so easily God's image, man. On account of your desert, that is, death, even the Son of God had to die."

And gentle Clement of Alexandria hits her hard when he says: "Nothing disgraceful is proper for man, who is

13. *I Corinthians*, xiv, 34.

14. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, II, 291.

endowed with reason; much less for woman, to whom it brings shame even to reflect of what nature she is."¹⁵

However, there is evidence here and there that girls dedicated to the service of the Church were sometimes given instruction. But they were by virtue of this service lifted above their secular sisters and hence the advice of St. Jerome to Laeta, mother of Paula, does not apply to girls in general.

Put letters into Paula's hands and teach her the meaning of them. Take care that she does not conceive a dislike for study that may follow her into a more advanced age.¹⁶

In the same tenor he wrote to Gaudentius with respect to the education of his daughter Pacatula. In both instances the studies which he advises are thoroughly religious in character—first learn the Psalter, then the Proverbs of Solomon, after this has been done pass to the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles; the Heptateuch, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther are to be memorized; then the Songs of Solomon may be read with safety, and the writings of Cyprian, the letters of Athanasius, and the treatises of Hilary with profit. In short,

15. Donaldson, J. *Woman*, 182.

16. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VI, 189 ff.

Let her take pleasure in the works and wits of all in whose books due regard for the faith is not neglected. If she reads the works of others, let it be rather to judge than to follow them. . . . "Let her learn how to spin wool, to hold the distaff, to put the basket in her lap, to turn the spinning wheel and to shape the yarn with her thumb.¹⁷

In reply to the question which Laeta might ask concerning the place where this instruction might be secured, we have the answer not only for the fourth century but for the greater part of the mediæval period.

Let her be brought up in a monastery, let her be one amid companies of virgins. . . .

There is nothing in the early history of the nunneries that indicates the presence of girls who were there simply for the purpose of instruction. The function of the early nunnery was above all things to provide opportunity for doing penance, something for which the times seemed to think woman stood greatly in need.

The early decrees of the Church with respect to education are evidence of her interest, and naturally are concerned only with the education of boys. Unfortunately, there is little until near the close of the mediæval period which throws

17. *Ibid.*, 258.

any light on the extent to which they were obeyed and the privilege extended.

One of the first examples is found in 529 when the Council of Vaison in Gaul urged priests to maintain schools in their parishes as, so it reads, is the custom in Italy. The next act of importance is the Capitulary of Charles the Great of the year 789 which insists that the priesthood be recruited no longer from the *servile* class (the Church was the only open door for the poor with talent and ambition) ; and orders that schools be maintained in monasteries and in cathedral churches where boys might secure instruction in reading, grammar, arithmetic, and singing. This was followed in 802 by a Capitulary commanding that every one send his son to study letters, and that the son should remain in school until well instructed. One Bishop, at least, Theodulf of Orleans, took these commands to heart, and for his diocese decreed as follows:

Let the priests keep schools in the villages and towns, and if any of the faithful wish to give his little ones to learning they ought willingly to receive them and to teach them gratuitously. . . . And let them exact no price from the children for their teaching, nor receive anything from them save what the parents may offer voluntarily and from affection.¹⁸

18. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, cv, 196.

This decree was made effective in England by Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury in 994 or 995.

In 1179 the Third Council of the Lateran issued the following order:

The Church of God, being, like a good and tender mother, obliged to provide for the spiritual and corporal wants of the poor, is desirous of procuring for children destitute of pecuniary resources the means of learning to read and of advancing in the study of letters, and ordains that every cathedral church shall have a master who will instruct gratis the ecclesiastical students of that church and the poor scholars, and that a grant be assigned to him which, by sufficing for his maintenance, will thus open the door of the school to studious youths.¹⁹

It seems probable that the bishops did not respond whole-heartedly to this command for, in 1215, the Fourth Council decreed again that every cathedral should have its licensed school-master.

The intentions of the leaders of the Church to make education possible in the twelfth and the thirteenth century for bright youths that they might enter her service is clearly evident, though there is no thought of a general extension of education. Local influence over the clergy; irresponsible, lazy, and ignorant priests thwarted to

19. Mansi, *Collectio Amplissima Conciliorum*, Tit. 5, Cap. 1.

a great extent the desires expressed by Charles the Great and by the Councils.

As the Church was increasing its scope and strength there was slowly developing from the time of the German invasions, a political and social practice known as feudalism. The feudal institutions reached the highest point of their development from the ninth to the thirteenth century, and from that time their influence progressively declined with the rise of such non-feudal elements as: a well-to-do middle class, town life, trade, commerce, the use of money as a medium of exchange, and strong, centralized monarchies.

Feudalism reached its most symmetrical development in France and was introduced as a system into England in the wake of William the Conqueror. In France and Germany, no social distinctions were customarily made beyond the class of gentry. The peasants, some free and some serfs, supported themselves and the nobles. They were looked upon by the feudal nobility as they were by the Athenian and by the Roman gentleman as of inferior worth. In England at the end of the fourteenth century, society was divided into nobility; gentry; a middle class composed of citizens and burgage tenants of chartered towns, and agriculturists whose tenure was either free or held for life by payment of rent or

stipulated services not menial in their nature; and the lower class made up of two elements—villeins regardant, who rendered service of a base or menial character and held land which though they might not leave, yet could not be alienated from them, and villeins in gross, who might be disposed of as any other property. The liberty of the agricultural workers, villeins of either class, was restrained beyond that of any other members of society; to lose them was *pari passu* to lessen the value of the property by decreasing production.

Out of the feudal regime, grew the educational system of chivalry which, while stressing practice in arms and manners, in its ideal form in the later period did not neglect the study of the liberal arts. Here, as we have seen in earlier times, the upper class looked upon the liberal studies as peculiarly suited to their own needs and in no wise were provisions considered for extending the privilege of education to an inferior class. For example, in the reorganization of the cathedral school at Canterbury the records say:

. . . there were more than one or two who would have none admitted to the grammar school but sons or younger brothers of gentlemen. As for others, husbandmen's children, they were more used, they said, for the plough and to be artificers than to occupy the place of the learned sort. Whereto the Bishop said that poor men's children are many times endowed with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God, as clo-

quence, memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, and such like; and also more commonly apt to study than is the gentleman's son, more delicately nurtured. Hereunto it was, on the other hand, replied that it was for the ploughman's son to plough, and the artificer's son to apply to the trade of his parent's vocation, and the gentlemen's children are used to have a knowledge of government and the rule of the commonwealth.²⁰

Even the spokesman of the lower class, Piers Ploughman, accepts the traditional point of view and rails against the desire for education and consequent betterment of social status:

Now might each sowter (cobbler) his son setten to schole,
And each beggar's brat in the booke learne,
And worth to a writer and with a lorde dwelle,
Or falsely to a frere the fiend for to serven.
So of that beggar's brat a Bishop that worthen,
Among peers of the land prese to sythen;
And lordes sons lowly to the lorde's loute,
Knightes crooketh hem to, and coucheth full lowe;
And his sire a sowter y-soiled with grees,
His teeth with toyling of lether battered as a saw.

The sneer of Walter Map who declared that in his day (twelfth century) the villeins were attempting to educate their ignoble and degenerate offspring in the liberal arts, which were so called according to Colonna "because the children of princes were accustomed to learn them," shows

20. Cutts, E. L. *Scenes and characters of the Middle Ages*, 204.

despite the efforts of the nobility that the way to rise through education and the Church was open to some degree. The Articles of Clarendon, 1164, evidently sought to curb this growing practice, as is shown by the following statement:

. . . the sons of tenants in villeinage might not be ordained without consent of the lord on whose lands they were born.²¹

To become a clerk or a priest freed the individual from fear for his person and from feudal exactions incident to his social status. Fathers were punished for allowing their sons to attend school as attested by the fourteenth century manor rolls all over England, which, of course, bear witness to the extent of the practice. In 1295, the Abbot of Ramsay mulcted Walter, son of Reginald the Carpenter, 10s., which was nearly half the yearly wage of a skilled artisan, for the privilege of sending his son to school. In 1344, a villein at Coggeshall was fined 3s. 4d. for a similar offence. These are merely examples of a general practice which must have kept the number of such children attending school comparatively small.

The lessening of the number of agricultural laborers which was brought about by the Black Death, and the great mortality of the priests (re-

21. Johnson, *Laws and canons*, II, 55.

cruited for the most part from the lower class) did much to free the servile population from the galling bonds of feudalism. So large a number were entering the priesthood to fill its depleted ranks, and thus leaving the manorial estates to which they were legally bound, that the Commons in 1391 petitioned the King, Richard II, to the effect:

That henceforward no nief or villein should send his children to school to enable them to alter their social status by taking clerical orders.²²

The petition was denied. Fifteen years later, 1406, in the reign of Henry IV, came a thorough-going enactment, an emancipation proclamation in fact, to the effect that all, no matter

of what state or condition that he be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any school that pleaseth them within the realm.²³

This legally broke the monopoly of education held by the middle and the upper class but still left all to individual initiative as before; an initiative, too, that was obliged to struggle against class prejudice. Education was neither compulsory nor free except in a few schools especially endowed.

22. Montmorency, J. E. G. *State intervention in English education*, 27.

23. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, III, 607.

IN 1410, the monopoly of the right to teach, which without doubt had tended to keep the number of schools at a minimum, was also broken. Freedom to teach and therefore the right to set up private or "venture" schools came as a result of a decision in what is known as the *Gloucester Grammar School Case*. The plaintiffs, who had the monopoly of teaching in Gloucester from the Church authorities, sued for damages because the defendant, an unauthorized teacher, had set up a school in the town and attracted pupils who otherwise would have paid fees to the plaintiffs. The Court held that teaching is a spiritual thing, good for the realm, helpful to the people, and in no wise contrary to or punishable by the common law of England. The question of right to monopolize teaching arose many times on the Continent, and it is to be put to the credit of the various Popes to whom final appeal was made, that almost invariably they sided with the community seeking to break local monopoly and to set up additional schools.

The slightly better attitude of the late Middle Ages toward the extension of the privilege of education to boys was paralleled by a less severe conception of woman's worth than that held in the earlier period. In fact, chivalry put the women of the *upper* class in a very high position indeed.

A certain definite training though not usually of an intellectual character was made necessary by this enhancement of worth. The *demoiselles* usually began their training in a nunnery while still young and were taught the household arts; the elements of medicine, and nursing; to sing, dance, and play the harp; and sometimes to read religious works in Latin and French. From these schools the girls entered the "Bower" of the castle to become initiated into the final elements of courtesy demanded by chivalric ideals.

That girls by the twelfth century entered nunneries for the sake of the instruction that might be obtained there and for that alone seems probable. Abelard, for example, in the rules which he drew up to govern the convent of the Abbess Heloise definitely prohibited this practice. There is also strenuous objection to this practice by Bishops and Visitors in both England and Germany on the ground that the seculars instructed in the convents made proper discipline of the members more difficult than would otherwise be the case.

The presence of secular schools for girls not connected with religious houses is clearly evident in Paris, for the Chancellor of Notre Dame in 1357 ruled that masters of schools must not admit girls to their classes, and mistresses of schools must not admit boys. In England, the decree of

1406 indicates some provision at least for the instruction of the "daughters."

The growth of commerce and the rise of the burgher class resulted in an increase in the number of girls attending the secular schools and convents, thus securing, as proper to wealth, the educational privileges considered to be the prerogative of the upper class. Though women without title, rank, or wealth were benefited little and though woman's sphere still revolved in household and religious duties, yet clearly progress is marked when the evolution of the education of women is viewed as a whole. It is in the doctrines and practices of chivalry that the modern freedom of women has its first manifestation.

IV

EDUCATION DURING THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

ANY period of history is marked by certain definite controls over activity in the broad sense of the term, and every succeeding period is marked by an attack upon some or all of those controls and the replacing of them by such regulating influences as may render the new point of view effective. The thirteenth century witnessed the triumph of mediæval ideals, and consequently the beginning of their overthrow. Authority and absolutism had served their purpose and human activity now felt itself cramped and unable to turn in the narrow quarters built according to mediæval plans and specifications. The Magna Charta, the summoning of Parliaments and Estates Generals; the cumulative influence of the Crusades and of travel and commerce; the nominalistic philosophy of William of Occam and Marsiglio of Padua, and the heresies of Wiclif and Huss; the new spirit of intellectual freedom voiced by Petrarch show that western Europe had departed from the mediæval castle, though in many respects still calling it home.

During the fourteenth century, the craving for

greater freedom of development, for a new vision of life and its meaning, caused some men, notably Petrarch, to interpret classical literature from a different point of view and for a different purpose than that expressed by Clement. It was felt that there was a larger, truer, more human conception of life which had been known in the past, but which had been lost during the Middle Ages; that the expression of the ideals of this more worthy development was crystallized in the writings of the great men of ancient times, particularly Cicero's; that through the study of these ideals found in the ancient literature they might learn the *controls* which should make the desired development possible. And as it was the liberal education of the Greeks which laid the foundation for properly controlling self and environment, the Renaissance, naturally, turned to a study of the liberal arts. As Vergerius, writing in the fifteenth century, says:

. . . those studies which are worthy of a free man; those studies by which we attain and practice virtue and wisdom; that education which calls forth, trains and develops those highest gifts of body and mind which ennoble men. . . .²⁴

In all respects the revived liberal education runs true to original form—it is concerned with

24. Woodward, W. H. *Vittorino da Feltre*, 102.

the business of life consistent with the ideals of the upper class, and with the leisure of life as enjoyed by its members. The illiberality of a training which fits for a profession is held by Vergerius in his *De Ingenuis Moribus* as definitely as was held by Aristotle :

Medicine which is applied science has undoubtedly much that makes it attractive to a student. But it cannot be described as a liberal study. Law which is based upon moral philosophy, is undoubtedly held in high respect. Regarding law as a subject of study, such respect is entirely deserved ; but law as a practice becomes a mere trade.²⁵

However, the early humanist looked upon the liberal education as fundamentally practical, though not in the sense of technical or professional,—practical in a much higher sense, in that it trained the powers of the individual and thus set them free, gave him the proper outlook upon life and its interests, opened the vast storehouse of past experience for his pleasure and his guidance, brought about a calm confidence in his power to accomplish, and moulded all these qualities into the powerful personality. As certain characteristics mark the Frenchman, the German, the Japanese, so the liberal education marked the individual in bearing, thought, and action ; theoretically he was fitted to live the life proper and in-

25. *Ibid.*, 108.

herently possible to the free man. Within this fuller and more complete conception of life were found, as with the ancients, the activities of the statesman, the diplomat, the banker, the great merchant, the man of letters, and even the soldier. This conception was in no wise connected with the activities and the duties of the remaining part of society; as a matter of fact it consciously held itself aloof.

The early humanist studied the classics that he might know and feel the force of the ancient ideals and guide his life thereby. Teachers like Vittorino da Feltre had this consciously in mind. But by the close of the fifteenth century, the relation of literature to life was no longer felt, the spirit and the driving power of the innovators—always so difficult to transmit—were spent by time. But the form remained and the movement crystallized, though using the same subject matter as in the earlier period, at its best, into an appreciation of Latin style, a knowledge of classical antiquities, and an ability to write Latin in close imitation of Cicero; at its worst, and more frequently by far as is the practice to-day, into grammar grind and something to make children learn. It was this narrow conception of education which was taken over into the grammar or secondary schools and controlled their aim and practice during the succeeding centuries.

In the Renaissance, as has been noted, there was a different attitude toward life than there was in the Middle Ages. This attitude to a considerable degree effected women as well as men. The Fathers it will be remembered regarded women as the incarnation of evil and were unfavorable on the whole to any development on her part other than the spiritual. But the pagan feeling, the love of life and beauty coming in with the Renaissance, strengthening the already improved position of women brought about by chivalry, resulted to the great advantage of the women of the upper class. A French poetess of the fifteenth century, Christine de Pisan, even made a plea for the emancipation of the sex. The effect of the Renaissance movement upon women as upon men was purely aristocratic and individualistic; it gave no systematic impulse toward extending the privilege of education to women as a whole.

Noted women of the Renaissance, such, for example, as Lady Jane Grey, Mary Sidney, Mary, and Elizabeth, were usually schooled at home by tutors. Daughters in families not able to employ tutors came off badly, as it was not good form to attend the grammar school. Mulcaster says:

I set not young maidens to public Grammar Scholes, a thing not used in my countrie, I send them not to the universities, having no president thereof in my countrie, I allow them learning with distinction in degrees, with differ-

ence of their calling, with respect to their ends whereof they learne, wherein my countrie confirmith my opinion.

Yet, by inference, it seems that girls attended some of these grammar schools, for the statutes of Harrow School in 1590 provide that "no girls shall be received to be taught in the said school."

Of the agencies for education inherited by the Renaissance and continuing to function until the Reformation, the cathedral school was of greatest importance and of most ancient origin. It was differentiated into the grammar, or secondary school, and the song, or elementary school,—these were the real public schools of the time. In the secondary schools of best repute, the subjects of instruction were grammar, which included some reading of classical authors, and the elements of rhetoric and logic. In the elementary school, reading, singing, and the memorizing of religious material were the educational exercises. Writing and reckoning schools were separate institutions for the preparation of boys for business careers, consequently subjects of such utility had no place among those dedicated to the Muses and pursued by the *elite*.

The great majority of those attending the grammar schools in England previous to 1406 were the sons of small farmers, burgage tenants,

properous tradesmen and artisans, and a sprinkling from the unfree. From the evidence at hand coupled with a knowledge of the general social conditions, there is no reason to doubt that this represents continental practice. After 1406, the number of unfree attending school in England doubtless increased, and secondary education became still more extended by the establishment of gild and municipal schools during the fifteenth century. Children of the English upper class were educated at home or in the house of a powerful noble according to the practice handed down by chivalry. In the fifteenth century and later, the younger sons designed for the church or the law attended schools established especially for them—the English Public Schools.

The extent to which the privilege of education was made actual may be fairly judged by the number of existing schools. In England, Leach, the most thorough student of the problem, estimates the number of grammar schools before the Reformation to have been approximately three hundred.

It is clear from the number of schools mentioned, which are by no means all that might be named, that the supply was more than ample. It may be said broadly that wherever there was a cluster of houses which might be dignified by the name of town, there was a grammar school in the midst of it. . . . It was an institution without

which no community could consider itself respectable.²⁶

In Germany, and this applies to Holland as well, Paulsen says:

There seems to be little doubt that, toward the end of the fifteenth century, nearly every city had a school of its own, and that even in the small market towns and villages, schools were by no means rare : . . . some of the larger towns had more schools than one, not counting the chapter and cathedral schools, which were on the decline. . . . After all that has been said it seems safe to assume that, at the end of the Middle Ages, the entire population of the towns with the exception of the lowest classes were able to read and to write.²⁷

Grant states with respect to Scotland:

Our burg schools were not created by an Act of Parliament; they had their origin in connection with the church, or were called into existence by the people themselves; but in whatever way they were founded, undoubtedly toward the end of the fifteenth century schools were planted in every considerable town in Scotland.²⁸

L'Abbe Alain quotes a large number of authorities who have worked over the documents with respect to the educational conditions in France previous to the Reformation, and from these results draws the following conclusion:

26. Leach, A. F. *Schools of Mediaeval England*, 329.

27. Paulsen, F., *German education*, 30.

28. Grant, James. *The history of the burg schools of Scotland*, 25.

It is impossible to deny that many of our provinces enjoyed the advantages of popular education and that the elements of instruction were carried to the doors of the working classes.²⁹

Rashdall, from the view point of a general study of European conditions, is of the following opinion :

It may be stated with some confidence that, at least in the later middle age, the smallest towns and even the larger villages possessed schools where a boy might learn to read and to acquire the first rudiments of ecclesiastical Latin, while, except in very remote and thinly populated regions, he would never have to go far to find a regular grammar school. That the means of education in reading, writing, and the elements of Latin were far more widely diffused than has some times been supposed is coming to be recognized by students of mediaeval life.³⁰

The fifteenth century brought to England, at least, the *legal* extension of the privilege of education to all classes, but nothing was done either there or on the Continent to make education generally possible for those financially unable to take advantage of the privilege except through the endowments made by individuals and corporations, and the free places in connection with church schools. This is a great advance over ancient

29. L'Abbe Allain, *L'instruction primaire en France avant la Revolution*, 39.

30. Rashdall, H. *Universities of Europe in the middle ages*, II, 602.

times and was due to the development of the Christian virtues of charity and brotherly love. These school facilities, as noted above, were almost universally found in the larger communities; the rural districts were more completely lacking in ability to pay tuition fees, in free foundations, and in the very realization of the value of education. Even in the larger communities it is not to be understood that education reached down to the boys of the lower classes to any but the slightest degree.

At the beginning of the Reformation the facilities for education seem to have been sufficient to meet the *needs* of the times. These times were without newspapers, common postal facilities, cheap books, or a political theory which allowed the common man a part in the government, thus making it necessary or at least desirable that he be informed. Likewise religious theory and practice were not of a character that demanded from the masses anything other than proper submission to guidance and to the authoritative interpretation of the ways and means of salvation upon which proper guidance was based. The previous discussion has shown how intimately instruction was connected with the Church—the elementary schools being chiefly concerned with the presentation of religious material to be learned by the child; the secondary schools

giving opportunity for talent to make its way in the Church and in the state, which was closely affiliated with and often guided in its policies by church officials. Hence, with the secession of territory consequent upon the Reformation, practically all schools except such as were private and municipal were swept away by the sequestration of church property. Many schools were refounded but the general consensus of opinion, not only Catholic but later Protestant, is that Europe did not recover from this educational wastage for more than a century. The freedom and liberality of the early humanistic education was displaced by a system narrowly ecclesiastical, for the times demanded skilled theologians not only to formulate the revolutionary religion and its technique of salvation, but to defend it against its great external foe, the Church, as well as against internal differences of opinion. This seething religious turmoil also worked to the detriment of the advance of women, since the literal interpretation of the Scriptures tended to give her the evaluation common to the sex during the Middle Ages.

Implicitly the theory of the Reformation demanded the extension of the privilege of education to all, for religion was a matter of individual conscience, and therefore the individual must inform and think for himself. Also, Luther de-

manded that education be made compulsory which in turn would make provision for the free education of the poor necessary. The people as a whole, however, were not ready for such an advanced educational program, and school legislation of this tenor on the part of a few of the more enlightened princes in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century had but little value. Social rather than educational reform was the first real need.

Regardless of theory, the conditions of the times placed the emphasis upon secondary and higher education. Paulsen states that:

The School Regulations for the Electorate of Saxony mentioned only one school open to all boys of the town. In this instance, instruction in the German language was expressly excluded. . . . The later School Regulations issued by Melanchton and Bugenhagen also let the matter rest there; the grammar school continued to occupy the place of the public school open to everybody; German schools were only incidentally mentioned as being in existence and tolerated. . . . The German school continued to be regarded as nothing but a makeshift for villages and market towns; wherever a regular, i. e., a grammar school existed, the German school was treated as a mere annex or offshoot.³¹

The immediate result of the Reformation in Saxony brought about no greater extension of the privilege of education nor any different conception of the function of education in actual practice than we find in the Middle Ages.

31. Paulsen, F. *German education*, 76-77.

John Knox in 1560 outlined a system of education for Scotland which provided successive grades from the parish school to the university. Elementary schooling was to be compulsory and boys of talent were to be compelled to remain in school and complete their education for the good of church and commonwealth. Tuition was to be remitted if parents were too poor to pay it. This scheme found no favor with the civil power.

Wurtemberg in 1565 adopted a system somewhat similar to that proposed for Scotland by Knox. The preamble in the Code states the main line of emphasis. "To carry from the elements through successive grades to the degree of culture demanded for officers in the church and in the state." A selective rather than a general educational program is clearly indicated, a lack of interest in those not sufficiently talented to be of use to the institutions mentioned.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Synods of the Dutch church took an active interest in education and in the establishment of schools. These activities were given final form by the Synod of Dort, 1618, which ordained that:

Schools in which the young shall be instructed in the principles of Christian doctrine shall be established not only in cities but also in towns and country places if anywhere heretofore none have been established.³²

32. Kilpatrick, W. H. *The Dutch schools of New Netherland and colonial New York*, 37.

These elementary schools followed the usual custom of teaching reading, writing, catechism, and sometimes arithmetic. This is the type of school set up in New Amsterdam in 1638, as commanded by the colonial policy of Holland. Following the instructions laid down by the Synod, gratuitous instruction was given to the poor.

In 1616 the Privy Council in Scotland took steps to carry out, to some degree, the program advocated by Knox in 1560 by enacting that a school be established in every parish.³³ Statutes of Parliament of 1633 and of 1646 attempted to enforce the Act of the Council but it was not until the Act for the Settling of Schools of 1696 that a system was definitely established. Many Presbyteries in that year reported to the Commission that there was no parish school within their bounds.

Theoretically, the Reformation demanded an autonomy of reason and conscience, a broader interpretation of the function of the school and greater extension of educational privilege, and the elimination of the old scholastic and religious material. In practice, it bound the intellect within the limits laid down by church and state, placed

33. Strong, John. *The history of secondary education in Scotland*, 114.

the emphasis in the schools on preparation for the ministry thus narrowing its appeal and function, and placed before the pupil for memorization, material equally as formal as that which had been displaced. This is merely to say that in practice no great gulf, but rather continuity, is found between conditions existing before and after the Reformation.

V

EDUCATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

IN the seventeenth century English and Dutch schools were set up in the New World each following the practice of the mother country, though modified, naturally, by pioneer conditions. The first educational legislation in the American Colonies was enacted by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1642.³⁴ This law demanded education on the basis of its value to the state; it placed the obligation of providing it upon parents and masters; and gave the local authorities power to summon, to examine, and to enforce the law. While following closely the English Poor Law summed up in 43 Elizabeth, cap. 2 (1601) it makes an additional provision obligating masters to teach all apprentices "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country."

The General Court in 1647 again took an advanced position in school legislation by enacting as follows:

34. *Massachusetts Col. Rec.*, II, 8-9.

It being one chief point of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from a knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times, by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at last the true meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, that learning might not be buried in the grave of our fathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors. It is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the majority of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; providing, that those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns; and it is forthwith ordered that where any town shall increase to the number of 100 families or householders, that they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university, provided, that if any town neglect that performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay £5 to the next school till they shall perform this order.³⁵

Here again, the close relation between education and social welfare is pointed out. The school is looked upon as a *civil* institution and under the direct control of the town officials. The town took upon itself the responsibility of paying the fees of those children whose parents were poor.

35. *Ibid.*, II, 203.

The records of various towns in Massachusetts show that this frequently was done.³⁶

English legislation with respect to education during the seventeenth century was of a character tending decidedly to lessen the number of schools and teachers. The Uniformity Act of 1662 imposed severe restrictions upon the teachers through the application of religious tests, and Dissenters and Catholics suffered greatly thereby. However, the Courts in several instances, following the liberal interpretation of the law as found in the Gloucester Case of 1410, held that the Church had never had control over any schools other than those of grammar or secondary grade, also that the founder or the lay patron of a school might nominate as teacher any one whom he chose without said teacher's being licensed by the Bishop. This gave a great impetus to the growth of endowed schools, especially among the non-conformists, and between 1660 and 1730 approximately 1100 such schools were founded in England and Wales.

In Catholic countries, the Jesuit Order founded in 1540 was the controlling agency in the field of secondary education. Talented youth in particular were sought by the order in harmony with

36. Jackson, G. L. *Development of school support in colonial Massachusetts*, 23ff.

its purpose to train such individuals as might prove helpful in regaining Christendom to Catholicism. The Piarists, sanctioned as a teaching Congregation in 1621, were active in the field of elementary education in Italy, Spain, Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary; and the Christian Brothers, 1682, opened elementary schools in the larger communities of France.

At the close of the seventeenth century, we find the conception of secular control over education largely put in practice in the Protestant states, though in England state interference was anti-monopolistic in its influence rather than a positive, progressive force. Education was valued for its moral and religious influence on the formation of character and as a means of training the intellectual powers. Secondary education was still essentially preparatory for the ministry, and was determined largely by university requirements, or was the preliminary training essential to apprenticeship in law or medicine. Tuition fees were paid by those able to do so; free places gave limited opportunity to talent coupled with poverty, though it was no easy matter for the extremely poor to break through the lines of class division. The philanthropic movement presently to be discussed indicates that education had not extended to the masses in England even in its most elementary form during the century. The

reports of the Presbyteries in Scotland show a condition far from praiseworthy, and conditions in Germany were no better. The extension of education during this period was greatest in Holland and in the New England colonies, though by the close of the century, education was at a low ebb in New England. Religious fervor had declined with the passing of the first two generations; the majority of the inhabitants were non-church members; the inroads of the Indian wars and, after the fear of the Indians was past, the rapid extension of the frontier—all these forces were unfavorable to the maintenance of the schools previously established, to say nothing of extending the facilities for education by establishing new schools. The commercial towns of the coast, and the life on the frontier gave less and less support to the kind of education given in the secondary schools; in fact, many towns preferred to pay a fine rather than to support a Latin grammar school. The middle and the southern colonies under the royal governors and the Established Church were influenced by upper class English rather than Puritan practice. A few endowed schools came into existence, wealthy planters employed tutors, and the poor were left largely to shift for themselves except when aided in the English fashion by philanthropic societies. The coming of the Rev. James Blair to Virginia in

1685, marks the beginning of a greater interest in education in the southern colonies.

A number of women in the seventeenth century took exception in print to the status assigned to women. The title of Jacquette Guillaume's book (1665) is indicative of the general trend of these works, *Illustrious Ladies, wherein is proven by good and strong arguments, that the feminine sex surpasses the masculine in every way*. Particular attention was given by these writers to proving the equality if not the superiority of the feminine intellect. In England, Mary Astell wrote much in demand of better education for women. All these efforts were treated with contempt which was, perhaps, proof enough of the benighted quality of the male intellect of that time.

Girls were recognized by the Massachusetts law of 1642, which decreed that *all* children should memorize the Catechism and the capital laws of the country, and should be taught to read. This generous interpretation, i. e., girls are children, seems probable since the apprenticeship indentures of girls contain provisions for their education in harmony with the demands of the law. For example, we find in the articles binding the child of John Stark of Dorchester to Henry and Margaret Merifield it was stipulated:

And so forward as it shall grow up to more ripeness of

years and statuer duering the whole term such sufficient necessities for food and rayment, &c., as shall be meete: as also when it shall be Capable to teach or Cause it to be taught to read p'ftly the English tongue. And alsoe to teach and instruct her in the principles of Christian religion. And in such houswifry emploument of Spinning and knitting, as she may be capable off to learne. . . .³⁷

It is worthy of note that articles binding boys to apprenticeship very frequently stipulated that they be taught to write, an accomplishment deemed unnecessary for girls. This was apparently the legal view, for the Hartford Court in 1655 ordered that the administrator of Thomas Gridley's estate "educate the children, learning the sons to read and write, and the daughter to read and sew well." Thomas Foster of Jamaica, in his will drawn in 1663, stipulated that, "My children be taught to read English well, and my son to write when they doe come of Age." Among numerous instances of a like character Bruce says that by the terms of a certain Virginian's will, it was provided that the widow "should keep their son Robert at school until he had acquired a perfect knowledge of reading and writing and their daughter Bridget also, until she could both read and sew with an equal degree of skill."

It was expected in New England that girls should learn what seemed fitting for them in the

37. *Dorchester Records*, 165.

home or in the dame school; it was not expected that they should attend the grammar school of the town. A specific instance of this policy is shown by the rules of the Hopkins Grammar School which state in 1680, "That all girls be excluded as improper and inconsistent with such a grammar school as the law enjoins, and is the design of the settlement." Such parents as desired a more extended training for their daughters than the law demanded, patronized private schools approved by the selectmen.

In the Dutch colonies, as in Holland, the parochial school was the chief means of education. There is no direct evidence until 1733 that girls attended these schools in the New Netherlands, but as it was the practice in Holland such was doubtless the custom in all her colonies from the founding of the church and school. Dr. Kilpatrick finds indirect evidence of such attendance in various contracts drawn up with reference to the care of children. He says:

In 1632 a contract was drawn promising with regard to Resel (Rachel) and Jan "both minor children," "to keep them at school, to teach them a trade." A boy and a girl are here to be treated alike. The same is true of the contract drawn by Dr. Everardus Bogardus and Annitje Jans. The children are Sarah, aged 16; Tryntje, aged 13; Lytje, aged 11; Jan, aged 9; and Annitje, aged 5. The affiants here promise "to keep them at school and let them learn reading, writing, and a good trade." We may

add that in no marriage contract examined has there been found any discrimination against girls and in favor of boys, either in the fact or the extent of schooling. So far as this evidence is concerned the sexes are on an equal footing.³⁸

Under English rule no provision was made for schools. Instruction was secured in private schools, subscription schools, and the charity schools established by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The schools of this society were elementary in grade and admitted girls to equal privileges with the boys. This was the practice of the Society in all the middle and southern colonies.

The Dutch in Pennsylvania and New Jersey made the same provision for parochial schools as in New York. The Quakers also maintained a school in connection with every church in which both boys and girls were taught to read and sometimes to write and cipher. A boarding school for girls was opened by the Moravians in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1742, and another by the same sect in Bethlehem in 1749.

The southern colonies had no provisions for schools comparable to those in force in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Education was distinctly, as in England, a matter of individual initiative. Boys and girls were educated in the

38. Kilpatrick, W. H. *op. cit.*, 218.

homes by tutors, and frequently the boys and girls living in the vicinity of so fortunate a home, were sent there to receive instruction. By far the larger number of children attended private schools, usually of elementary grade.

In discussing the degree of illiteracy in Virginia, Bruce lists a large number of women, "among the wealthiest and most distinguished citizens of the Colony," who were not able to write their names. A study of the names of about 3,000 women attached to depositions and deeds of conveyance, which "would embrace representatives of every class, from the owner of landed property in her own right, to the wife of the poorest agricultural servant," shows between the years of 1641 and 1700 that 756 were able to sign their names in full, and 2310, or 75 per cent., were obliged to make their marks.³⁹ Names of men during the same period are signed in full in 7349, and marks are made in 5006 instances, showing 40 per cent. of illiteracy. Dr. Kilpatrick found that 60 per cent. of 154 Dutch women who had occasion to sign their names made their marks. Of 48 women in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, who signed deeds between 1653 and 1656, 53 per cent. made their marks; and of 130 signing

39. Bruce, Philip A. *Institutional history of Virginia*, 453 ff.

deeds between 1686 and 1697, 38 per cent. were unable to write. These women belonged to the propertied class, however, and might reasonably be expected to make a better showing than women taken as a whole. Then, too, from what has been said above, inability to write did not connote inability to read.

In Germany during the seventeenth century there are references here and there to school mistresses and to girls' schools where reading and the Catechism might be learned. In Paris, likewise, there is evidence of the presence of schools for girls which carry on the traditions of the schools mentioned in the order of the Chancellor in 1357. The latter part of the century marks the rise in England of the girls' boarding school which aimed on the whole to instil the social graces rather than to give opportunity for learning. And in the last decades of the century, many charity schools sprang up in which boys and girls of poor families were given equal opportunities to learn the rudiments and prepare for service.

Even in the most enlightened countries of the seventeenth century, there was no general demand that girls be taught more than to read after a fashion, to sew, to knit, to cook, and repeat the Catechism. Women well trained mentally were phenomena occurring only here and there.

VI

EDUCATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IN England during the eighteenth century, there was a marked interest shown in extending the privilege of education to the lower classes through the efforts of societies and individuals—there was no action on the part of the state. This interest was due to the desire to train children in the tenets of the Established Church and thus save them from the dangers of Catholicism; to the desire on the part of many estimable ladies and gentlemen to gain a modicum of publicity by sponsoring so worthy a cause; and to the religious-philanthropic movement known as pietism, which aimed through educational influence to better the social condition of the poor. Pietism, wherever found and under whatever name, stressed conduct, rather than intellectual assent to a creed, as the proper mark of Christianity; it sought to touch and to influence life and to raise the general level of society without disturbing class distinctions; and it found the means of accomplishing this by caring for the unfortunate, by extending the opportunity to learn, and by the inculcation of religious truths.

This work in Britain was carried on for the greater part of the century by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge founded in 1698 by Thomas Bray. He proposed that the members "proceed to set up catechetical schools for the education of poor children in reading, writing, and more particularly in the principles of Christian religion." These schools were called Charity Schools and were usually supported by private contributions, as the state had not yet reached the point of view that education should be on any other than a voluntary or a charitable basis. In 1729, approximately 34,000 children in England were receiving instruction in the Charity Schools.

It is about this time that De Mandeville, in his *Essay on Charity Schools*, expresses the feelings of many of the upper class with respect to the education of the poor. His point of view is as old as the beginnings of formal education:

From what has been said it is manifest, that in a free country where slaves are not allowed of, the surest wealth consists in a multitude of laborious poor. . . . To make the society happy and people easy under the meanest circumstances, it is requisite that great numbers of them be ignorant as well as poor. Knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our desires, and the fewer things a man wishes for, the more easily his necessities may be supplied.

The welfare and felicity of every state and kingdom, require that the knowledge of the working poor should

be confin'd within the verge of their occupations, and never extended (as to things visible) beyond what relates to their calling. The more a shepherd, a plowman or any other peasant knows of the world, and the things that are foreign to his labour and employment, the less fit he'll be to go through the fatigues and hardships of it with cheerfulness and content.⁴⁰

Speeches made in Parliament apropos of general provision on the part of the state for the education of the poor call forth the sentiments expressed above, and time after time bills introduced for this purpose were tabled without further action.

The work of the Society, however, continued to grow and in 1750 reached its highest point with an attendance of about 50,000 in 2,000 schools. This work was taken over in the early nineteenth century, and carried on by the National Society organized in 1811.

In the latter part of the century, 1780, another movement to bring the rudiments of learning within the reach of the poor, was organized by Robert Raikes. This was the establishment of the Sunday Charity School. These schools, usually found in the manufacturing centers, were attended by children and adults who were employed during the week. These early Sunday Schools differed from the present day notion of the Sun-

40. De Mandeville, B. *The fable of the bees*, 328.

day School in that they gave instruction in reading and writing. In 1834 there were 1,500,000 children and adults receiving instruction in these schools in England and Wales. Workhouse schools and hospital schools founded during the last half of the century made it possible for many pauper children to receive the rudiments of learning, and better to prepare themselves for apprenticeship and domestic service.

In spite of the philanthropic efforts noted above Malthus, in 1803, in his *Essay on Population* says:

We have lavished immense sums on the poor, which we have every reason to think have constantly aggravated their misery. But in their education and in the circulation of those important political truths that most nearly concern them, which are perhaps the only means in our power of really raising their condition, and of making them happy men and more peaceful subjects, we have been miserably deficient. It is surely a great national disgrace, that the education of the lower classes of the people of England should be left to Sunday Schools supported by a subscription from individuals.

This statement is interesting not only for the light which it throws on educational conditions, but Malthus here sets forth a new value to be derived from education of the poor—the political. It has heretofore been urged primarily upon religious grounds and connected closely with the church. This political value and the doctrine of

the rights of man are the keynotes of development during the early nineteenth century. The endowed schools, the charity schools, both day and Sunday, dependent upon philanthropy, were constant reminders of England's need, and were the most influential factors in the later movements toward a national system.

Germany in the eighteenth century continued to develop the policy of state control over education, and by the end of the century, practically all the German states had compulsory education laws which required that schools be set up and that children from five or six to thirteen or fourteen years of age be in attendance. But there was great difficulty in enforcing the law, and, as in the previous period, the compelling force was for the most part the threats and admonitions of the clergy. German education during the latter part of the century is marked by a steadily increasing secularization of the elementary curriculum which in time forced religious instruction from its dominant position.

The pietistic movement in Germany was responsible for the founding by Francke of a school for the education of poor orphans at Halle in 1695. Good management and liberal contributions in the course of the eighteenth century, developed this foundation to such a state of efficiency that it served as an inspiration and a model

for schools with a similar function in practically every city in Germany. Hecker, a pupil of Francke, in harmony with the practical and social elements of pietism, founded at Berlin in 1747, a new type of school—the Realschule. This came in response to the demand for a higher grade of instruction than was given in the elementary schools and for a content that should meet adequately the needs of the commercial and industrial classes. Grammatical and logical disputations, the study of the classics, would-be elegant Latin prose and verse; which formed the content and aim of current secondary education, seemed too remote in their bearing as they always have been, to be of aid in the work-a-day world.

The Realschule, though not founded to extend the privilege of education to the lower levels, marks the beginnings of the extension of education to suit needs and talents heretofore not recognized. One kind of education—the classical—was too narrow in its distributive aspect, too highly selective with respect to mental qualities and social station, to suit social needs and develop mental qualities which were present but unrecognized in the school practice of the eighteenth century. Scientific humanism began to make a place for itself beside literary humanism which had dominated education from the time of the

Greeks. ,

In elementary education, as well, a system of instruction much more practical in its nature, was established by the Prussian Baron von Rochow for his peasants. All school exercises were connected with real problems and appealed to the actual experience of the child. By this means, he hoped to raise the index of efficiency of the future worker with respect to the economic and moral aspects of his life. The usual emphasis upon the catechism and the dogmas of theology were replaced by training in the fundamentals of Christian conduct. His general attitude toward the secularization of the elementary school and the universality of its appeal is shown by his statement that, "children belong to the state; it is the will of the state that they be educated and learn to read, write, cipher, and to think properly."

Three important school acts of this century in Prussia show that the state was not inactive. The first is the Code of 1763, by which Frederick the Great founded the elementary system of that state. The Code made education compulsory from five to thirteen years of age, stated the content of elementary education, and provided that the tuition fees of children whose parents were too poor to pay them should be paid by the church, or from the funds for the aid of the poor. In 1787, a central administrative board was creat-

ed whose function was to direct all school affairs within the kingdom. This board was to be made up for the most part of educational experts—the consistories of the church which had control of the schools, naturally, were not of that character. In 1794, schools were defined as state institutions, they could be founded only with the consent of the government, and they were at all times under its supervision. All heads of families were obliged to contribute to the support of the schools, regardless of religious belief and even if they did not send children to school.

Outside New England during the eighteenth century, free schools were usually charity schools, and interest in education was fostered, as in Europe, by philanthropic societies. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was organized in England by Thomas Bray in 1701, and began its work in the American Colonies during the following year. It was employed in supplying with able ministers the natives as well as the English; appointing catechists and schoolmasters for the slaves, with other ignorant persons, and sending over select libraries for the improvement of the clergy, as well as practical treatises for the edification of the laity.

The Society was particularly active in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Many schoolmasters in these colonies re-

ceived their salaries in full from the Society and many were given a certain proportion of their salaries by way of supply, and were thereby obligated to teach a number of poor children gratis. Because of its close connection with the English point of view with respect to the Revolution, the Society withdrew from the States in 1785.

The Sunday School movement took definite form in America in 1791 when a number of philanthropic citizens of Philadelphia formed the First Day or Sunday School Society. Instruction in writing and reading from the Bible and other moral and religious works, as the Society might from time to time direct, was given to poor children by teachers employed by the Society. The Board of Visitors in its report for the year 1796, says :

By this benevolent institution, the children of many of the poorer part of the community, who would otherwise have been running through the streets habituating themselves to mischief, are rescued from vice, and inured to habits of virtue and religion; and it is with great pleasure that the Board of Visitors have observed that the improvement in reading and writing made by the children of the schools, answers the most sanguine expectations.⁴¹

Schools of this character were numerous in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Dela-

41. Wickersham, J. P. *History of education in Pennsylvania*, 281.

ware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

During the last decade of the century, the usual plan was to unite the religious forces in the community for the maintenance of these Sunday Schools. For this reason, religious instruction of a sectarian character could not be given, and emphasis was placed on the presentation of moral ideas of general worth. The increase of educational facilities in the early nineteenth century due to the growth of the Infant Schools, and the Lancasterian system of instruction, caused the Sunday Schools to become definitely sectarian and to confine instruction to the field of religion exclusively.

The Sunday School movement was of considerable influence in calling attention to the general need of primary instruction, as it had done in England. Even in Boston which, supposedly, for a long period of time had had excellent facilities for instructing its young it was found "that of 336 children admitted to the Mason Street Sunday School none of whom were under five years of age, not one quarter part could read words of one syllable, and most of them did not know their letters."⁴²

The Sunday Schools also showed the possi-

42. Wightman, J. H. *Annals of the Primary School*, 14.

bility of giving elementary instruction free from denominational teaching, which was rather a startling idea to the majority of the people of the time. Both these points of view—the ignorance of the poor and the possibility of non-sectarian elementary education—formed a part of the cumulative forces making for the public school supported by general taxation.

Public authority, too, during the eighteenth century was not unresponsive to the need of extending the means of education through eliminating the necessity of charging tuition fees. In the preceding century, New England towns quite generally made provision for the support of schools in their articles of incorporation. The following is a typical clause:

Also it was with unanimous consent concluded that some portion of land in this intended division should be set apart for public use, viz: for the town the church and the free school viz: 40 acres at the least and 60 acres at the most.

Dorchester in 1639 enacted as follows:

It is ordered that there shall be a rent of £20 forever imposed on Thomson's Island and this toward the maintenance of a school in Dorchester.

Continuing this practice on a larger scale, Connecticut in 1733 sold large tracts of land in the

western part of the Colony; these receipts together with the amount received from the sale of the Western Reserve in 1795, form the present common school fund of the state. Georgia in 1783 set aside 1,000 acres of land in each county for the purpose of maintaining free academies. Massachusetts used the same method in 1797 to aid her academies. These are given as examples with no attempt to cover all instances.

The most far-reaching legislation for the support of schools and the extension of the privilege of education begins with the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787. By these enactments, the sixteenth section in every township was reserved for the use of the common schools. Two townships in each of the states to be carved from the Northwest Territory were reserved for the support of a state university. Congress was even more liberal in making reservations for the common schools in later legislation.

The attitude of the various states with respect to the value of education and the desirability of its extension, is shown by the provisions made in their constitutions. Massachusetts and the New England states urge the establishment of schools because of the value of education in preserving political rights and liberty. The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 contains the following clause:

Wisdom and knowledge as well as virtue diffused generally among the body of the people being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend upon spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislature and magistrates in all future periods of this Commonwealth to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences and all seminaries, especially the University at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in towns.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania in 1790 ordains that:

The Legislature shall as soon as conveniently may be provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis.

Georgia provided in 1777 that:

Schools shall be erected in each county and supported at the general expense of the state as the Legislature shall hereinafter point out.

New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Kentucky made no mention of education in their constitutions previous to 1800. The provisions quoted above, it will be noted, were drawn in general terms, and the power left to the legislature to make specific laws and to organize the machinery for putting them into effect; but such legislative provision lagged

far behind. As a matter of fact, all men were far from being free and equal in the real social and political activities of the late eighteenth century. The Massachusetts reference to the "different orders of the people," and the well defined notion held by many of the early legislators that provisions should be made to the effect that control be vested in a party made up of the rich and intellectual, shows clearly that constitutional provisions were the expression of sentiment and that custom and tradition were still paramount in evaluating education as a social factor.

In the beginnings of our national life the social status of the free laborer in competition with the unfree was much the same as in the time of ancient Greece and in the centuries following. The treatment meted out to the poor and unfortunate indicates that man, as such, was considered of little worth, and that human values and capacities were still measured by wealth and station. McMaster in his *Rights of man in America* says:

In the Middle and Southern States, almost all labor, skilled and unskilled, was done by slaves, redemptioners or indentured servants. . . .

Competition of this sort made the lot of the free laborer hard indeed, but it was made harder still by the usages of the times. He worked from sunrise to sunset, earned less wages in winter than in summer, was paid at irregular intervals, and if not paid at all had no lien on the product of his labor. If he were so unfortunate as to fall

into debt, though it were but a sixpence or a penny, he might at the will of his creditor be torn from his family and cast into jail, there to remain until the debt and the prison charges were paid or he died of hunger and disease.⁴³

All this was changed in the next century through the growth of the factory system, the massing of the working population in cities, and the extension of the franchise. The workingmen were then able to make themselves felt in securing adequate educational facilities for their children, and the doctrine of freedom and equality came more nearly being realized.

The eighteenth century, however, showed a decided awareness of the ignorance and degradation of the poor, and of the dangers of such conditions both from the religious and from the civic point of view. The steps which have been mentioned seeking to remedy the situation show that voluntary contributions, private initiative, and interest are necessary preliminaries to general public action. The necessity must be clearly pointed out, methods must be tried out with success—then the state moves in the direction of universality and compulsion. Free education in the eighteenth century was, with the exception of scholarships, endowments, and the tax-supported schools of New England, regarded as pauper education.

43. McMaster, J. B. *Rights of Man in America*, 35.

The nineteenth century was to foster the conception of free education, to make it in many nations universal and compulsory, and to eliminate the stigma of poverty.

Elementary education, as such, had no definite organic connection with the secondary school. It stood apart almost as completely as the Sunday School of the present stands apart from the public school. It was a class education, it had no vision of further intellectual training, and, at its best, it ended in apprenticeship to a trade. These are still the characteristics of elementary education in European countries; although some states make provision for continuing school work by giving instruction in such subjects as have definite bearing upon the work in which the youth is engaged. Eighteenth century philanthropy had no intention of doing more than extending to the masses within the limits of its resources, the opportunity to learn to read, write, and memorize the catechism and prayers; for it was fondly hoped that religious instruction and virtuous conduct were united indissolubly. Through the eighteenth and even into the nineteenth century, the Greek theory of elementary education, that is, that it relates primarily to the formation of proper habits of conduct, is clearly seen. With the exception of state intervention already noted, all the forces interested in this phase of education were connected with

some religious body, and sought to inculcate particular religious doctrines; or else, due to the union of different sects, to promulgate ideas of general moral worth.

Secondary education was preceded by a definite type of elementary training which was of a character comparable to present day-schools whose function it is to prepare little boys for the "Great Public Schools" of England. It was elementary education with a vision. Such children knew they were to attend a secondary school, it was a part of class consciousness, and the curriculum, methods, and school spirit were all influenced by this end. Secondary education of the eighteenth century was concerned with leisure class ideals—the training of the intellect and the influencing of boys in such a way as to bring about that rather intangible state of being called culture. Subject matter, in so far as it was related to life, was "disinterested." Latin had lost its social value as the language of scholars, of learned books, of diplomacy, and of religion in Protestant countries. But "disinterested" secondary education, nevertheless, stressed the study of Latin, and hence the gymnasium, the recognized secondary school of Germany, gave a training which was described as follows by Father Beckx, sometime General of the Jesuit Order:

The gymnasia will remain what they are by nature, a gymnastic for the intellect, which consists far less in the assimilation of real matter, in the acquisition of the different knowledges, than in the culture of pure form.⁴⁴

All secondary education, wherever found, was of this character. The officially unrecognized movement to do exactly what the Jesuit Father said the gymnasia were not doing, was begun in this century by Hecker in Berlin, and by Franklin in Philadelphia; though the American academy did not become of much importance until the following century.

To summarize—we find that during the eighteenth century the privilege of elementary education was extended considerably to the lower classes by two agencies, philanthropy and state action. By the close of the century, schools in Germany were, as in New England in the preceding century, looked upon as state institutions subject to the control and inspection of state officials. The value of the individual to the state as well as to the church, was clearly recognized in Protestant countries; a value that Luther had pointed out some two centuries earlier when he said that even if there were no God, the state should provide educational facilities that it might rear good citizens. There is, however, no general concep-

44. Campayre, *History of pedagogy*, 145.

tion in practice as yet that man himself, regardless of what value he may be to institutions, has the natural right to secure the development of his powers and capacities. In the last decade of the century, there was in certain sections of Europe and America, a well defined theory that citizens were responsible for the making of citizens, and hence must contribute to the support of schools. In such schools, the child had legal rights and was spared the stigma of pauperism which could not be escaped when attending schools supported by philanthropy. Outside charity schools, elementary education began to place the emphasis upon secular subjects, and religious instruction was concerned with the general principles of Christian conduct. This change marks the initiation of the departure from the traditional function of elementary education, but it was to receive many reverses before present day theory and practice dominated the situation.

During the eighteenth century, the doctrines of liberty, fraternity, and equality, the rights of man, equality of birth, and the like, were germinating. But all these conceptions were interpreted and applied only in the interests of the male sex though for a long time by no means were all males included. The social and political rights of women were seldom voiced. Her proper ac-

tivities were connected with the church, the kitchen, with rearing children, and with pleasing her husband. The social philosophy of Rousseau, though not logically applied by him in the education of women, was the ferment which raised the question of woman's rights in the last decades of the century. There was much agitation on the part of the women of Paris for political, economic, and legal equality; though little real progress was made. A period of reaction set in with the Napoleonic régime and this point of view was made definite in the Code. Mary Wollstonecraft in her *Vindication of the Rights of women* developed in England the social philosophy of France, but her influence on the men and women of her time was but slight.

In customary thought and practice, the intellectual, legal, and economic status of woman was changed but slightly in the course of the eighteenth century. The approved form of education for the girls of the better class was one which developed "female accomplishments," and only here and there did a girl have opportunity to secure a really serious intellectual training.

The eighteenth century in the colonies marks the rise of the girls' boarding school. This type of school was influenced in its origin, social purpose, and method by the fashionable French and English schools of the time. The following ad-

vertisement from the *Virginia Gazette* of March 5th, 1772, gives an excellent example of the character of these schools and the accomplishments which they sought to teach:

E. Armston (or perhaps better known by the name of Gardner) continues the School at Point Pleasant, Norfolk Borough, where is a large and convenient House proper to accommodate young ladies as Boarders; at which school is taught Petit Point in Flowers, Fruits, Landscapes, and Sculpture, Nuns Work, Embroidery in Silk, Gold, Silver, Pearls, or embossed, Shading of all kinds, in the various works in vogue, Dresden Point Work, Lace ditto, Catgut in different modes, flourishing Muslin after the latest Taste, and almost elegant Pattern, Waxwork in Figures, Fruit, or Flowers, Shell ditto, or grotesque, Painting in Water Colors, or Mezzotinto; also the Art of taking off Foliage, with several other embellishments necessary for the Amusement of Persons of Fortune who have Taste. Specimens of the Subscriber's work may be seen at her House, also of her Scholars; having taught several Years in Norfolk, and elsewhere, to general satisfaction. She flatters herself that those Gentlemen and Ladies who have hitherto employed her will grant her their farther Indulgence, as no Endeavors shall be wanting to complete what is abovementioned, with a strict Attention to the Behaviour of those Ladies entrusted to her care.

Reading will be her peculiar Care; Writing and Arithmetic will be taught by a Master properly qualified; and if desired, will engage proficients in Musick and Dancing.

At the close of the eighteenth century, girls in general might be taught to read, to sew, and, in some instances, to write, without flying in the face of public opinion. Instruction of a more advanc-

ed character, either intellectual or in the nature of "accomplishments," was only for such of the wealthy as desired it. There was but little place for girls in the system of public schools wherever found, since from the time of the Reformation, secondary and higher schools had been organized to prepare boys for such activities as were proper for men, and in which public opinion allowed women to have no part. The abolition of the nunneries in the Protestant countries swept away the only institution that offered instruction to girls beyond the rudiments of reading. Its function in the education of girls was not replaced until the rise of the boarding school. These schools for the most part, as indicated in the above advertisement, gave no solid intellectual training, but sought to instill those graces in vogue which might make more easy and more certain the entrance into the only career, if so it may be called, open to women—matrimony. A girl suspected of learning, suffered a great handicap in entering upon her proper career. The removal either wholly or in part of the economic, legal, professional, and educational disabilities of women was the work of the nineteenth century.

VII

EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE close of the eighteenth century found Prussia considerably in advance of the other European countries with respect to state activity in the extension of education. Social reform, however, was necessary before educational privileges could be extended radically, for the peasants at the beginning of the nineteenth century were still in serfdom, and population was divided into strict social castes. The crushing defeat of Prussia at Jena brought home to her statesmen the fact that the old system must go, that restrictions must be broken down if patriotic citizens and a strong nation were to spring from national disaster. The first step was taken in 1807 by issuing a royal decree which aimed to "remove every obstacle which has hitherto prevented the individual from attaining such a degree of prosperity as he was capable of reaching."

Education for the common people was to play a vital part in the nation's regeneration and the educational system, according to Paulsen, was dominated by the idea that the state, constituting

as it does the external organization of the national life, ought to provide all members of the nation for their own sake and for the sake of national dignity with the necessary facilities for their instruction and social training.⁴⁵

This idea in the early part of the century was popularized by Fichte. He also saw the relation of Pestalozzi's educational and social theory to the national crisis and in one of his addresses said:

Pestalozzi's essential aim has been to elevate the lower classes, and efface the difference between them and the educated classes; it is not only popular education that is thus realized, but national education; and Pestalozzi's doctrine has enough power to help nations and the whole human race to rise out of the miserable state in which they have been wallowing.⁴⁶

There was, however, no intention of organizing a system of education common to all for the purpose of making it possible through education to sift out talent, or to raise the index of class status. Education was so organized as to free the powers of the individual in his particular economic and social condition, thus making him thoroughly efficient. The idea of Zedlitz, of the preceding century, expressed in a letter to von Ro-

45. Paulsen, F. *German education*, 178.

46. Pinloche, A. *Pestalozzi and the modern elementary school*, 295.

chow still held:

As all instruction should trend, as you properly remarked, to educate the children of the peasants with a view to their future calling, and give their intelligence a culture in conformity with their state of life, it is very evident that instruction thus given must be infinitely more laborious than that given when the schoolmaster contents himself with making children learn pages of Luther's catechism.⁴⁷

In accordance with the needs and the theory of the nineteenth century, then, the broader and richer curriculum of Pestalozzi superseded the traditional, and efforts to compel attendance at school were redoubled. But as Prussia soon came under the influence of Metternich, Frederick William III was seized with the fear of "over-education;" suspecting that too much education, too much enlightenment made children unfit to become contented workers and difficult to govern. This reactionary spirit culminated during the reign of Frederick William IV in the Regulations of 1854, resulting in shelving Pestalozzianism for the time being, in favor of the traditional curriculum of the Reformation: reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and a large amount of religious instruction. By 1870, the ideals of the early part of the century again dominated educational theory, and the principles of Pestalozzi aiming to

47. *Ibid.*, 291.

develop the natural powers once more influenced the elementary school. Instruction in these schools is now free and compulsory throughout Germany, and the literacy tests given to the army recruits show that the attendance laws are strictly enforced.

As previously stated, elementary education as given in the *Volkschule* is a class education and does not connect except at the end of the third or fourth school year with the secondary school system. The children attending the *Volkschule* are the future workers in the industrial field and that they may do this work efficiently, schools are provided in which the subject matter of the elementary school is reviewed in such a way as to make it bear upon the trade or employment in which the boy or girl is engaged and help him or her to acquire additional knowledge and skill. These are called *Fortbildung* or continuation schools. Attendance is compulsory in fourteen of the twenty-six units of the German Empire for a period of from two to three years.

Secondary education, which with the exception of ten per cent. is not free, prepares for the professions and what might be termed directive pursuits. Stratification of society practically closes these schools to all but the wealthy.

The *Realschule* founded in 1747 for the purpose of fitting boys for practical life and giving a

body of generally useful information had, of course, no standing with the supporters of the classical or liberal education whose function, it will be recalled, was first defined by the Greeks. It was not until 1859 that a *Regulation* provided an official *Order of Studies*. The fight has been for the most part on the question of University recognition for its graduates; it was finally secured in 1901. The *Realschulen*, however qualified by distinct curricula, are now primarily preparatory schools for the universities or the schools of technology.

The more distinctly practical aspect of the eighteenth century *Realschule* took, in the early nineteenth century, another course of development. It is found first in the growth of distinct schools for craftsmen, mechanics, and engineers. In 1825 at Karlsruhe, three schools of this practical character—engineering, architecture, and industrial—combined and formed the first Polytechnic school in Germany. This served as a model for later development. German efficiency in the fields of applied science is the result of the training secured in these schools.

France during the eighteenth century had made no progress in extending the privilege of education to the masses. In fact, according to Cousin in 1831, the French nation hardly had conceived the problem. The Napoleonic reforms in the

early nineteenth century did nothing for the elementary schools, but private initiative during the Restoration founded the Society for Elementary Instruction and adopted the mutual or monitorial system, which at that time was also the center of educational interest in England and the United States. These schools became quite common throughout France and came in competition, therefore, with the simultaneous or class method of instruction used by the Brethren of the Christian Schools. Arguments and recriminations flew thick and fast between the exponents of the two systems, all serving to bring the problem more definitely before the nation.

In 1833, the state for the first time gave definite attention to the elementary school problem and the extension of its privileges. Guizot in that year organized elementary education in such a way as to provide a school for each commune, or, depending upon local conditions, one for a group of two or three communes. Tuition was charged in these schools but the poor were to be taught gratis. Reactionary influences dominated educational thought and practice from the enactment of the Falloux laws in 1850, for the encouragement of denominational schools rather than the national system, until 1881. In that year under the Republic, France provided for schools in even the smallest villages where boys and girls might

receive elementary education free of charge, and in 1882, attendance of all children from six to thirteen years of age was made compulsory.

At the close of the compulsory age period, further instruction is provided for two or three years in the higher primary schools. As in the German continuation schools, the higher primary continues the work of the primary school, and gives it at the same time a practical aspect. For those who because of employment are unable to attend the higher primary schools, evening schools are maintained which give specialized instruction based on the industries which are common in any particular locality. Schools of agriculture which charge a tuition fee, and schools for manual apprenticeship which are free, are open to those who have finished the elementary school course.

Lycées and *collèges* for the purpose of giving secondary instruction were created by Napoleon in 1802—the Revolution had eliminated those previously existing. It is not expected that the children of parents in poor or moderate circumstances will attend these schools in any number though provision is made for granting a liberal number of free scholarships. It is possible at about the age of ten to transfer from the elementary school to the *lycée* or the *collège*, as in Germany, but it is not the customary thing to do.

The secondary schools have their own preparatory department, and children of a social status that takes for granted the pursuit of higher education attend these rather than the public elementary school. Individual bent is recognized in the French secondary schools, as in the United States, by offering a large number of subjects within one institution rather than differentiating types of schools as in Germany. The French system differs from our own, however, in that students choose *courses*, but choice of subjects within the course chosen is very limited.

Extension of education in England was in the beginning of the nineteenth century still in the hands of voluntary and philanthropic agencies with no action on the part of the state until 1833. Two societies which did most for the masses were the Foreign and British Society founded by the non-conformists in 1808, and the National Society founded under the auspices of the Established Church in 1811. Both used in their schools what was known as the monitorial or mutual system of instruction, that is, boys who were slightly in advance of others taught those who had not progressed so far. This made instruction very cheap, in fact, the aim of Lancaster of the British Society was so to administrate and mechanize instruction that one teacher by the use of monitors might instruct a thousand pupils. He actually

accomplished this feat in the Borough Road School, London. These monitorial schools were maintained by contributions and by small tuition fees collected from such parents as were able and willing to pay.

The influence of these schools in stimulating the growth of the conception of universal elementary education is shown in a speech by Mr. Whitbread in 1807, in which he makes the point that conditions are favorable for the establishment of a national system, because within a few years there has been discovered a plan for the instruction of youth, which is now brought to a state of great perfection; happily combining rules, by which the object of learning must be infallibly attained with expedition and cheapness, and holding out the fairest prospect of eminent utility to mankind.⁴⁸

But the extension of the privilege of education when not connected with the teachings of the Established Church roused the opposition of that clergy and of the House of Lords as well. The Bishop of London viewed with great concern the attempt to establish a compulsory system of education secular in character; and he cautioned the Christian public against it. The Established

48. Montmorency, J. E. G. *State intervention in English education*, 219.

Church was entirely favorable to universal elementary education if it were in the control of the Church, and fought it consistently when urged under any other conditions. The aristocracy, as usual, feared the results of education if extended to the masses; it would make them dissatisfied, intractable, and prone to revolution. Knowledge so disseminated was connected with irreligion and disloyalty; with contempt of religious institutions and hatred of government. France, atheistic and revolutionary, was the nightmare of Churchman and Tory.

The influence of the English leaders of thought.—Smith, Bentham, Malthus, Mill—was in favor of provision for a national system of elementary education as the duty of the state. Persistent work on the part of the Radicals finally won a grant from Parliament in 1833 which placed £20,000 at the disposal of the two Societies mentioned to be used for the construction of school houses. This provision, though it marks a phase of state intervention, served to strengthen the forces that were opposed to secular control. It was so completely a body of concessions to the various religious, economic, social, and political interests that no one was satisfied. From that time to the present, the progress of English legislation with respect to education has been through compromises.

It is particularly worthy of note that the Education Act of 1833 followed the Reform Act of 1832 which gave the franchise to many of the poorer class who for the most part lived in cities. Lack of education, it was thought, made the ballot an element of danger in their hands, so that many of the better class were now willing to do something to make possible the "educating of our masters." The Reform Act of 1868 which extended the franchise still more was, in turn, followed by the Education Act of 1870.

Investigations made by Lord Kerry in 1833 with respect to the educational conditions in England, made it appear that the Societies with government aid were doing very satisfactory work. But statistical societies formed to verify his statements came to quite different conclusions:

The enquiries made in Manchester, Liverpool, Salford, and Birmingham, dissipated the idea that satisfactory progress was being made. In Manchester a third, and in Liverpool half the children of school age were receiving no instruction at all; not even that of the Sunday School. In most of the large towns it was found that not one in seventeen of the population was being educated, and in some districts only one in thirty-five. In parts of Lancashire, towns of 25,000 inhabitants were without a single school. The proportion of children who received no education of any kind in day or Sunday Schools was found to be in Manchester thirty percent., Liverpool fifty percent., York thirty-four percent., Westminster sixty-five percent., and Birmingham fifty-one percent. In 1837 the London Statistical Society reported, that the country did

not afford the means of education for more than one-half of those in a condition to receive it. The reports from Liverpool stated that improvement was hopeless until assistance and direction came from a body vastly superior in means and intelligence to any in existence.⁴⁹

In 1839 the annual grant was increased to £30,000; Prussia at the same time was passing a budget of approximately £600,000 for her schools. The proceeds of the annual grant were now given without restrictions to be used by the Societies for any purpose connected with elementary education. Distribution was made conditional upon the amount subscribed in the locality and, hence, such places as could subscribe but little and consequently greatly needed assistance, received the least help. All these defects were being registered upon public consciousness, and the idea of a national system under government control in all respects kept growing, particularly in the great manufacturing centers.

Though many attempts were made to create more satisfactory conditions, one force or another succeeded in defeating progressive legislation until 1870. The Education Act of that year marks the entrance of the government, the secular authority, in an earnest campaign to extend the privilege of education to the children of England and Wales, though again it was a compromise and

49. Adams, F. *The elementary school contest*, 94.

very unsatisfactory to those who held to the traditional view that elementary education should be definitely connected with religious instruction in the control of the clergy. Nevertheless, the parents were primarily interested in securing for their children the opportunity of receiving instruction at least in the rudiments of learning whether accompanied by religious instruction or not. This the Act of 1870 made possible by commanding that there should be provided in every school district a sufficient amount of school accommodations in public elementary schools available for all the children resident in the district, for whose elementary education efficient or suitable provision is not otherwise made.

Schooling was not free, however, except to the poor until 1891. In that year all schools that abolished tuition fees were given in lieu of this income 10s. per capita from Parliamentary grant. If the fees charged to support the school were more than 10s. per capita, the difference might still be assessed upon the pupil; though no schools *founded* after 1891 may charge tuition fees at all.

Until the establishment of the Board schools in 1870, the state could make no provision for compulsory education. The Act of 1870 and the Act of 1876 gave power to the local authorities to compel children between the ages of five and thirteen to attend school every day that the school

was in session. The individualistic Englishman has not taken kindly as a rule to the principle of compulsion, and the local authorities have not given themselves whole-heartedly to the enforcement of the law.

The completion of the instruction given in the elementary school, as on the Continent, marks the close of the school career of English children of the lower class. Opportunity for the continuation of their education is offered in the higher primary schools, but, as a matter of fact, these schools are few in number because of the slight demand for them; or the children may attend the continuation schools. There has been considerable agitation to make such attendance compulsory.

Secondary schools as a part of the government system have recently made their appearance. Up to 1902, approximately 5,000 boys and girls who had completed the work of the public elementary schools, were provided through scholarships with opportunity to secure secondary school training. By the Education Act of 1902, the local authorities were directed to advise with the Board of Education to the end that greater facilities for secondary education might be provided in their locality. In some places, these authorities have organized new schools for this purpose, and in others, grants have been made to schools already

in existence, or scholarships have been awarded in them. Almost to a school, the practice of charging tuition, though the amount varies, is common. Such schools as are on the grant list, are legally required to hold 25 per cent. of their sittings free from tuition charges for qualified pupils from the public elementary schools. In 1912, there were 55,703 such pupils in attendance—a rather remarkable growth in the course of one decade. Yet the opportunities for securing secondary education are in no wise uniform, varying from one free place to every seventy children attending the elementary schools in London to one in every one hundred and seventy in Oxfordshire. Much remains to be done in extending the privilege of secondary education, and in getting away from the traditional point of view that such education is the proper monopoly of the upper classes, and that the subject matter should be wholly of the “disinterested,” cultural character proper to a class whose economic, political, legal, and social position at the top is assured.

State action with respect to the extension of education in the United States during the early nineteenth century centers in New England. In general practice during the preceding century, the schools of Massachusetts were supported by taxation. The few exceptions were forced into line in 1827 by legislative action which made such sup-

port compulsory in all towns of the state. However, other legislation which legalized the practice of dividing the towns into school districts nullified the valuable features of public support. The powers of the districts were increased by the legislature in 1800, 1817, and 1827 to such an extent that the local or district officials were given the right to levy taxes for the erection of buildings, repairs, and the like; to expend the money received from the town as the district's share of the tax budget; and to employ the teacher. In districts which had but small valuation, the proportion of the town tax was entirely inadequate to support a school. The organization and the law were present, but the demand for good educational facilities was not. The disintegration of the towns into districts put an end to the old town, or secondary, school which received the support of the whole town, and was fatal to a broad, generous development of a system of public education. Such a development came in the course of time as the result of the efforts of James G. Carter and Horace Mann.

Massachusetts, a pioneer in the establishment of free public schools, was also a pioneer in extending the privilege of education to those who desired something more practical than that offered in the usual secondary school which fitted for college. First came the academies and then the

high schools, each offering a wide range of subjects and each aiming to fit the individual to live a better and a richer life. They were to be the colleges for the people. The wider intellectual opportunities offered by the academies and the high schools, as compared with the college preparatory school, is shown by a comparison of the subjects taught in the Boston Latin School (1827), the Boston English High School (1827), and the Phillips Exeter Academy (1818).

B. L. S.	B. E. H. S.	P. E. A.
Reading	Reading	Reading
Grammar	Grammar	Grammar
Geography	Geography	Geography
Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic
Algebra	Algebra	Algebra
Geometry	Geometry	Geometry
U. S. History	U. S. History	U. S. History
Ancient History	General History	Ancient History
Latin		Latin
Greek		Greek
Composition	Composition	Composition
Declamations	Declamations	Declamations
Forensics	Forensics	Forensics
Trigonometry	Trigonometry	Trigonometry
Chronology	Chronology	
	Logic	Logic
	Rhetoric	Rhetoric
	Surveying	Surveying
	Nat. Philosophy	Nat. Philosophy
	Moral Philosophy	Moral Philosophy
	Astronomy	

Navigation	Chemistry
Mensuration	
Ev. of Christian- ity	
Natural theology	
Arts and Science	
Literary Criti- cism	
Bookkeeping	

In the 20's boys were admitted to the Boston Latin School at the age of nine, and to the English High School at the age of twelve. Candidates were tested by examination as there was then no direct connection between the elementary and the secondary school, no conception of starting in the first grade and "going through" as at present. It reminds one of the European practice. Common school education and secondary education had no distinct relationship in our early history and here we see again the influence of the European tradition. Also, it is clear that our early high schools and academies were not standardized by the colleges on the basis of entrance requirements.

Connecticut distributed the income from her common school fund for the first time in 1799. The returns had so increased by 1821 that the Legislature enacted a law to the effect that general taxes should no longer be levied for the support of schools. Whatever was needed in addi-

tion to the districts or school society's income quota to meet the expense of maintaining a school, was assessed on the heads of families in proportion to the number of their children attending school and the number of days which they attended. The usual result was, of course, that schools were kept open only for such time as the income from the fund served to pay the cost of maintenance. This method of support continued until 1854, when a general tax of one cent on one hundred dollars was levied for school purposes. In 1868, the Legislature ordered the towns to supplement the income from the fund by taxation sufficient in amount to free the schools from tuition charge. The betterment of educational conditions in Connecticut was due largely to the efforts of Henry Barnard.

However they may have failed in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, fully to utilize their legal powers for the extension of education along the lines of broad public policy, the New Englanders had developed the legal powers. They were far in advance of the other states of the Union in this respect, and wherever one finds a group of settlers in the new states of the Middle West from the New England section, one finds a strong influence in favor of free schools, not of the charity type but fully supported

by general taxation.⁵⁰

Outside New England in the early nineteenth century, elementary education was looked upon, as in England, as a parental responsibility; or in case parents were not able to provide education for their children, the duty devolved upon religious and philanthropic societies. Religious societies maintained "free schools" for the benefit of the poor of their own denomination, and philanthropic societies ordinarily cared for the education of those children whose parents were not affiliated with any church.

The most influential of these many philanthropic agencies was the Free School Society founded in New York City by a number of public spirited citizens. The history of this society shows how the Lancasterian system of instruction was built up and made an influential factor in educational and social thought; its connection with the education of the poor; and its influence in developing sentiment for a free public school system.

The Society was incorporated in 1805 under the title of "A Society for establishing a Free School in the City of New York, for the education of such poor children as do not belong to or not

50. The settlements made by New Englanders in other sections of the country is shown graphically in Mathews, L. K. *The expansion of New England*.

provided for, by any religious society." Instruction was first offered in 1806 according to the Lancasterian or monitorial method. DeWitt Clinton, the first President of the Society, said of this system of instruction :

I confess that I recognize in Lancaster, the benefactor of the human race. I consider his system as creating a new era in education, as a blessing sent down from Heaven, to redeem the poor and distressed of this world from the power and dominion of ignorance. . . . Its distinguishing characteristics are economy, facility, and expedition and its peculiar improvements are cheapness, activity, order, and emulation.⁵¹

Again, in 1818, he said :

I can confidently recommend it as an invaluable improvement, which by wonderful combination of economy in expense and rapidity of instruction has created a new era in education.

In a Memorial of the Society in 1818, we find that :

The general influence of our schools has not been confined to the City of New York. In order to promote a more extended knowledge of the system, and the establishment of similar schools, they have been, and are open, free of expense to the inspection and attendance of persons from different parts of this and other states, a sufficient time to enable them to acquire means and capacity of im-

51. Bourne, W. O. *History of the Public School Society*, 19.

parting instruction to others on the Lancasterian plan, with ease and dispatch.⁵²

When the income from the common school fund of the state became available, the amount given to the Society practically met its liabilities for the payment of teachers' salaries. Many parents who felt that they, as citizens and tax-payers, had a vested right in this income, could receive no benefit from it; for they did not wish to send their children to a "free school" to which the odium of poverty was attached. The question of the advisability, under the circumstances, of charging a small tuition fee, came up for discussion in the Society and it was proposed in 1825 to make radical changes in its methods. It was therefore recommended that:

The title of the Free School Society be changed to that of the "The New York Public School Society," and its charter to be so amended that children of all classes may be admitted to the schools, and required to pay for their instruction according to the branches they may learn, but not exceeding one dollar per quarter, in advance. The trustees to have power to remit the charges in such cases as they may deem proper.⁵³

This with other provisions was enacted by the

52. *Ibid.*, 34.

53. Bourne, W. O. *History of the public school society*, 93.

Legislature in 1826, annulling thereby the earlier provision which stated that the children of parents who were able to pay for schooling were not to be admitted. The result was not satisfactory, as the attendance of those unable to pay immediately decreased. In an *Address to the Public* in 1827, we find these statements:

It is now in the power of the public to remedy this evil entirely, and to introduce a corresponding benefit, which the pay system was never competent, nor even designed, to produce.

We desire to see our public schools so endowed and provided, that they may be equally desirable for all classes of society.

It is obvious that these schools should be supported from the public revenue, should be public property, and should be open to all, not as a charity, but as a matter of common right.⁵⁴

If a government cannot exist part free and part slave; neither can a school be successful, so it would seem, made up of children part of whom are dependent and part independent. Class distinctions, definite social caste, it was thought, would result. This was contrary to the growing conception of equality which culminated in what is known as the Jacksonian democracy.

Another note is also struck in this *Address*—the necessity of education in a democracy,

54. *Ibid.*, 114.

If we would preserve our free institutions, the means of education must be co-existent with the right of suffrage. . . . Let it be remembered that the uneducated and unenlightened must necessarily be the mere playthings and tools of political ambition. Those base men who pervert their station or abuse the public confidence for private purposes, have nothing to fear but from just sentiment and enlightened opinion. . . .

It may not be without just cause that, in some other countries, it is considered a dangerous thing to enlighten the people. But with us the question of their political power is settled—and, if they are true to themselves, it is settled forever.⁵⁵

In a report made to the Maryland Legislature in 1824, L. D. Teackle estimated the number of children in Maryland of elementary school age as 60,000, and held that by the Lancasterian method they might be taught by levying an annual per capita tax of sixty-two cents. And he further states that:

. . . all the official reports under public authority either in New England, New York, or Pennsylvania testify that the cost of education has been reduced to 1-5 of what it was under the old system of public instruction.⁵⁶

We have made, then, through the influence of the Lancasterian system as sponsored by the Free School Society no uncertain progress toward the

55. *Ibid.*, 113.

56. Steiner, B. C. *The history of education in Maryland*, 59.

general extension of the privilege of education. It has made, to a people unused to taxing themselves for educational purposes, the conception of universal education seem possible of achievement, and it called attention, too, to the fact that thousands of children in a democracy were growing up ignorant of even the rudiments of learning.

Not only was the need of general educational facilities in a democracy felt by the Committee of the School Society but the workingmen, as well, voice the same opinion. A representative of such a body says on this point:

Indeed, to conceive of a popular government devoid of a system of popular education is as difficult as to conceive of a civilized society destitute of a system of industry. This truth has been generally received in this country, and never, I believe, directly denied; although its force has been attempted to be evaded by the rich, who have heretofore, unfortunately, been our sole lawmakers, through the odious system of charity schools—the bare idea of which impresses a consciousness of degradation, and leads to results the very reverse of those that ought to be produced by popular instruction.

The workingmen were alive to the benefits of education, and force was given to their demands because of their political power. The period 1820-1850 shows a remarkable growth in urban population due to the development of the factory system of production. During these three decades, the State of Massachusetts increased 60 per

cent. in population but Boston increased 123 per cent. and this ratio of growth between urban and rural population held generally throughout the Eastern states. Organizations of workingmen immediately sprang up, and the competition of political parties for the labor vote secured for them many valuable concessions. The following statement shows this phase of their activity at Newcastle, Delaware, in 1850:

Let us unite at the polls and give our votes to no candidate who is not pledged to support a rational system of education to be paid for out of the public funds and to further a rightful protection of the laborer.⁵⁷

Without definite reference to their political power the attitude of a workingman's society in Philadelphia is shown in 1829 by the following clause:

No system of education, which a freeman can accept, has yet been established for the poor; whilst thousands of dollars of the public funds have been appropriated for building colleges and academies for the rich.⁵⁸

The mechanics and workingmen of New York City in 1829 adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, that next to life and liberty, we consider education the greatest blessing bestowed upon mankind. Re-

57. Simpson, Stephen. *A manual for workingmen*, 201.

58. Quoted by Carlton, F. T. *Economic influences upon education*, 77 ff.

solved, that the public funds should be appropriated (to a reasonable extent) to the purpose of education upon a regular system that shall insure the opportunity to every individual of obtaining a competent education before he shall have arrived at the age of maturity.

Urban centers were far in advance of the rural communities in their demands for free, tax-supported schools. A comparatively small percentage of the urban dwellers, particularly the workmen, felt the incidence of a direct tax for this purpose, but the members of the rural community felt it directly. In the struggles for constitutional provision for free schools, on the whole, the urban population stood for, and the rural population against, general taxation for full support of the schools.

The economic value of the extension of the privilege of education is also urged. In the Public School Society's *Address* this particular value is set forth:

We may go still further, and say that, in so far as the expenditure proposed is necessary for the establishment of English or common schools, it is recommended by the principles of economy in the strictest sense of the word. . . . Those who are unacquainted with the habits and pursuits of humble life, do not know how generally education is connected with independence and the want of it with abject poverty. . . .

The more the community is enlightened, the more equally will its burdens be borne. It has not, perhaps, been sufficiently considered by political economists, that na-

tional wealth proceeds chiefly from the activity of the mind, and must, therefore, be proportioned to the extent and universality of its development.⁵⁹

In the same vein, Horace Mann writes in his Report of 1848:

That political economy, therefore, which busies itself about capital and labor, supply and demand, interests and rents, favorable and unfavorable balance of trade, but leaves out of account the element of a wide-spread mental development, is naught but stupendous folly.⁶⁰

A system of free schools that should extend education to all was demanded, then, on the basis of equal human rights which was an echo from the French Revolution and in harmony with the growing spirit of democracy so keenly felt on the frontier; on the basis of better citizenship, for education must accompany the ballot; on the basis of industrial and economic progress, for the raising of the index of general intelligence increased and improved production and reduced vice and slothfulness, the handmaidens of ignorance; and on the basis of breaking down social castes for which there is no place in true democracy, but which, nevertheless, were present as the result of wealth and restricted educational privilege. Con-

59. Bourne, W. O. *History of the Public School Society*, 117.

60. *Life and works of Horace Mann*, 4,260.

trary to former conceptions of the value of universal education, there is at this time no argument advanced upon religious grounds; the arguments are political, social, and economic. The class in Eastern states most keenly interested in tax-supported schools was made up of workingmen and their sympathizers. Their wages would not permit the education of their children in a manner at all comparable to that of the children of the well-to-do in private institutions; therefore, in the name of democratic equality and opportunity, the public funds, they held, should be used as an equalizing factor.

Supplementing the activities of the states, the federal government, too, has exerted great influence in extending the privilege of education. This has been done through the disposition of public land in each township the proceeds from which, either sales or rentals, could be legally used for the support of schools in which all had equal rights by virtue of the fact that Congress had set the lands apart for the use of all the people. Ohio was the first state admitted to the Union from the Northwest Territory, and, therefore, the pioneer in developing the method by which the school lands should be disposed of, or managed for, the support of the schools. Ohio's method was to leave the money derived from the sale or the lease of the lands in the section set

apart for school purposes in the hands of the township—the money being looked upon as belonging peculiarly to the inhabitants of the township in which the section was located. In some townships, the section was so situated that it was practically worthless, or the soil might be so poor that it could not be leased or sold to advantage. Such a section was of little aid in meeting school expenses. Again, the money, being in the hands of local officials, was often loaned to friends on poor security and lost.

Profiting to some extent by Ohio's mistakes, Indiana, when admitted, came under a provision by which the proceeds of the sale of school lands were placed in the hands of the state for the use of the township from which they were derived. This method tended to conserve the money, but did not improve upon the Ohio method which failed to aid needy districts or townships from the public funds.

Michigan introduced the method which has been followed by all states subsequently admitted, of absolute state control of the common school fund for the benefit of the common schools of the state. This gives the state great powers of supervision due to the fact that stipulations may be made, let us say, with respect to the length of the school year, the amount of money to be raised by local taxation, and the like, in order that the

district may be privileged to participate in the proceeds of the school fund.

Eighteen states received no grants, twelve received one section in each township; in 1848, two sections were set apart in each township—sixteen states came under this provision; in 1896 the law was again changed so that all states organized since that time, and all states to be organized, receive four sections in each township.

The income derived from these school lands at the outset was not large, but its influence, in spreading and intensifying the desire for common schools open to all, was of the greatest importance. Its chief influence in this respect, lays in the fact that were the annual sum large or small, it was certain and could be used for no purpose other than school support. Therefore, it served to give a few weeks of free schooling each year which all children were privileged to enjoy, and thus kept alive the consciousness of the need of education. It also served to arouse public sentiment for free schools maintained by the community; for, after the public money had been used, schools could be kept open for a longer period only by means of tuition charge. The result was that poor children were immediately withdrawn, their right to education ceased, and instruction could then be continued only through philanthropy—charity schooling—which the high-

ly democratic and individualistic spirit of the frontier would not brook; and this too, at a time when education was coming to be looked upon as the bulwark of the nation and the only means by which the poor man might secure and maintain his rights. The inequality of educational privilege was extremely influential in bringing about a demand for a system of education that should be extended to all, and of the same character as that made possible by the common school fund; which could be realized only by supplementary general taxation. This did not come, of course, in any state, eastern or western, without a struggle. Everywhere taxable wealth, childless tax-payers, sectarian influence, private educational institutions were arrayed against such a policy. The great majority of the states made constitutional provision for free school systems, or made such earlier provisions actual, after 1850.

In the early history of the movement for free schools, the secondary school was not included, in popular thought, as a part of the common school system. The general conception of the common school as found in the first half of the century is shown in the *Report of the Public School Society*.

A school, to be common ought to be open to all; and those branches of education, and those only, ought to be taught in it, which tend to prepare a child for the ordi-

nary business of life. . . .

Your committee, therefore, cannot find a more accurate definition of the term "common school," than to call it a school in which nothing but the rudiments of an English education are taught to all who are admitted into it.

. . .⁶¹

Local boards here and there, from time to time, made levies sufficient in amount to support a secondary school as well as the so-called common school. This practice was questioned in Michigan by test suit brought against District No. 1 of the village of Kalamazoo by Charles S. Stuart. This "The Kalamazoo High School Case," was decided by Chief Justice Cooley in favor of the right to tax for the support of a secondary school, thus making instruction possible "for all classes of the community, as good, indeed, for the poorest boy of the state as the rich man can furnish for his children with all his wealth." This decision was highly influential in setting a precedent for the introduction of secondary education as an integral part of the common school system of other states.

Though at the time not directly connected with the education of women or, for the most part, raising their general status, the various transition

61. Bourne, W. O. *History of the Public School Society*, 134.

factors of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did bring about such results. The French Revolution with its emphasis on the rights of man, the educational theory calling for the full and harmonious development of all the powers of the individual, the extension of the franchise to the lower social order of men, the anti-slavery agitation in which women took so prominent a part, the growth of the scientific point of view which caused old standards whatever their character to be questioned, a more equitable treatment of women with respect to their property rights, the humanitarian movement with its emphasis on sheer human worth, the growth of individualism consequent to the settlement of new territory, a certain amount of economic independence secured to women due to the growth of the factory system of industry, a certain feeling of equality due to taking on many duties and occupational pursuits formerly monopolized by men, a keen appreciation on the part of many women of the relation between freeing the mind and the securing and maintaining of a proper economic and social status which had already loomed large in the objectives of the workingmen's societies—all these influences, here and abroad, inextricably woven together in the social consciousness, made possible the extension of education to women.

Such extension of public secondary and higher

education to the girls of Germany has been a matter of exceedingly slow growth. Graduation from a public secondary school and also from the university carries with it automatically certain social and political privileges which are denied to women because of the position she occupies in the state. Hence secondary education for girls has been left, until recently, to private enterprise and to the various municipalities; although some German states permit girls to attend the boys' schools. As women were not allowed to matriculate in the German universities until 1903 when Munich opened her doors, there was during the greater part of the nineteenth century no pressing need for girls' schools equal in grade or character of work to the boys' nine year schools. Girls completed their education in public or semi-public schools, which ranked as *Mittelschulen*, at about sixteen years of age. The first Gymnasium for girls was founded in Berlin in 1893, followed in the same year by Carlsruhe, and in the next year by Leipsic. In 1903, Prussia reorganized the higher schools for girls and put the Gymnasia on the same footing with respect to the universities as those of the boys. The general sentiment in Germany does not favor university study for women.

Public secondary school education for girls was legally established in France in 1880. Such in-

struction previously had been given entirely by convents or by private schools. Ordinarily, girls expecting to attend secondary school, as is the practice with the boys, enter an elementary school in connection with the *lycée* or the *collège*. The secondary schools for girls offer a course five years in length, which is two years less than that offered to boys, though since 1909, some *lycées* extend the course so that girls may prepare for the universities. These are open to women on equal terms with the men.

The growth of secondary schools for girls of England also has been confined largely to the last fifty years. Such schools were originally founded for the girls of the middle class. There are at present four types of secondary schools for girls: the private school which may be day, boarding, or both; the expensive boarding school with equipment, curriculum, prestige, and the like after the manner of the Great Public Schools for boys; public secondary schools of first grade which prepare for college; and public schools of secondary grade which prepare for business, home life, and elementary school teaching positions. On the whole, the girls in England are about as well taken care of with respect to opportunities for securing secondary education as are the boys.

Higher education was first made possible for English women by the founding of Queen's Col-

lege in 1848 and Bedford College in 1849—both in London. The newer universities are open to women on the same terms as to men, but Oxford and Cambridge, though allowing them to receive instruction, refuse to grant degrees.

In the United States the academy movement of the late eighteenth century marks the small beginnings of the extension to women of educational privilege above the elementary or common school grade. The academies of Massachusetts notably Leicester, 1784; Medford, 1789; Westford, 1793; and Bradford, 1803, were the first to offer such opportunity. The academies were not connected with the public school system, charged a tuition fee, and were patronized largely by the middle class. During the first half of the nineteenth century, these schools multiplied rapidly in all the States, though they were found in largest numbers and were most successful in New York and Massachusetts.

Another movement making possible secondary education for girls was inaugurated by the establishing of the High School for Girls in Boston in 1826. The novel and most important feature of this school was that it formed an integral part of the public school system of Boston and hence was open to all girls, free of cost, who were qualified to enter. The common school systems of the various states which offered elementary

education upon equal terms to both boys and girls made it possible to look upon the attendance of girls in the high schools as a matter of course, when the common school system was extended upward. While there were a number of such schools previous to the Civil War, notably in New York, Massachusetts, and Ohio, the rapid growth of the high schools came after 1870. This movement from the first tended to lessen the number and influence of the academies.

In the field of higher education, some collegiate training was offered in the Troy Seminary, New York, founded by Emma Willard in 1821; the Catherine Beecher Seminary of Hartford in 1822; the Ipswich Female Seminary in 1825; the Abbot Female Academy in 1829; and the Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1836. These schools may be looked upon as forerunners of the movement for the higher education of women which gave rise to the woman's college. Elmira College, New York, was in 1855 the first of such institutions to offer courses and require such work for the degree as to place her on an equal footing with the colleges for men. Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr, in the order of their founding, are well known examples of this particular means of extending the privilege of higher education to women.

Another avenue with like purpose was opened

by the founding of Oberlin College in 1833 where women were admitted on equal terms with men both to classes and to degrees. The University of Michigan in 1870 was the first of the state universities to become co-educational. All similar state institutions are now open to women with the exception of the Universities of Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana.

VIII

THE EDUCATION OF THE ABNORMAL CHILD

THE discussion to this point has been concerned with the extension of the privilege of education to the normal child. Yet a very conservative estimate leads one to expect that in every 10,000 there will be ten blind, six deaf, and forty unable to gain an independent livelihood because of lack of mental ability. Though the last century really marks the extension of the privilege of education to sense and mental defectives, yet the beginnings are more remote.

In earlier times, it was generally agreed that deaf-mutes were incapable of being educated and legally were classed with the idiots and the insane. Jerome Cardan, an Italian of the sixteenth century, declared that "written characters and ideas may be connected together without the intervention of sound." This seemed to establish the possibility that deaf-mutes might be numbered among the mentally normal and might be taught. From that time, interest in the problem of their instruction was aroused. Beginning with the efforts of Pedro Ponce de Leon (1520-84), here

and there through the centuries, individuals interested themselves in the instruction of these unfortunates. Thorough work was not really undertaken, however, until 1760 when a school was established in Paris by the Abbe de l'Epee. In the same year, Thomas Braidwood of Edinburgh set up a school for like purpose. The first public school of this character was founded in Leipsic in 1778 under the direction of Samuel Heinecke. Systematic instruction coupled with extensive and intelligent organization begins with the early nineteenth century.

Interest in the education of the deaf was aroused in the United States by Dr. Mason Cogswell. It was found upon investigation that there were a number of deaf-mutes in the country and several influential citizens decided that some one should be sent abroad to learn the method of instructing them. Funds were raised and the Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet was appointed for the work. Unsuccessful in his attempt to secure instruction in the Braidwood school he visited France and was cordially received by the Abbe Sicard, successor to de l'Epee. Upon Dr. Gallaudet's return, the first American school was opened at Hartford in 1817. So great was the interest in this enterprise that the state legislatures became active and to-day every state in the Union maintains one or more institutions for the education of the deaf or,

failing that, makes legal provision for such education in neighboring states.

Due to the fact that many deaf children were not receiving instruction in the state institutions, Boston in 1869 provided special classes for such children as a part of the public school system. Pittsburgh in the same year adopted this plan, followed by New York City in 1874, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Erie, Pa., in 1875. In 1913 there were seventy-three cities providing day classes for the deaf in the public schools. These classes are small, varying from five to ten pupils each.

The instruction given the deaf is of the same character as that given the normal child but with greater emphasis on industrial and physical training. The institutional schools place the emphasis upon developing skill in suitable trades.

Definite provisions for the instruction of the blind came somewhat later than that for the deaf. The first school established for this purpose was *L'Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles* by Valentin Haüy in 1784 who was also the inventor of embossed books for the blind. Liverpool established a similar school in 1791, Bristol in 1793, and London in 1799. The movement became general on the continent in the early nineteenth century. Johann Klein opened a school in Vienna in 1804, and thereafter exerted greater

influence than any other man in the founding of schools for the blind in the Teutonic countries. Institutions were founded at Berlin in 1806 and at Dresden in 1809.

The American pioneer in the movement for educating the blind was Dr. John Fisher of Boston who had become interested while a medical student in Paris. Through his influence, the Legislature passed an act incorporating "The New England Asylum for the Blind" in 1829. Dr. Samuel Howe was sent abroad to prepare himself for the work and upon his return in 1831 established a school in Boston. In the same year, the "New York Institution for the Blind" offered instruction, and in the following year a similar institution was established in Philadelphia. In 1914, forty states were reported as offering instruction to the blind in public institutions; and twenty cities had formed special classes for the same purpose in connection with the public school system.

In the public schools, the number in a class varies from four to sixteen. The blind are given the same kind and degree of instruction as the normal children, but vocal and instrumental music, and simple handicrafts receive, for them, a greater emphasis.

Though an attempt to educate an idiot was

made by Itard about 1800, and several idiots were given instruction in the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1818, the first systematic work in the training of mental defectives was begun in 1837 by Dr. Edward Seguin in Paris. Dr. Seguin published his text *Treatise on Idiocy* in 1846; this is still regarded as a standard text on the subject. A school for similar purpose was founded at Abendenberg, Switzerland, in 1842, in Berlin in the same year, and at Bath, England in 1846.

Dr. Samuel Howe of Massachusetts was greatly interested in Seguin's experiments, and pursuant upon the passage of an act by the Massachusetts legislature in 1846, provided in the "Perkins Institution for the Blind," of which he was superintendent, a school for the instruction of ten indigent idiots. This work was successful and in 1851 was made permanent under the name of the "Massachusetts School for the Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Youth." New York, after a like preliminary trial beginning in 1851, founded in 1854 the "Syracuse State Institution for Feeble-Minded Children." Pennsylvania took similar action in 1853; Ohio, in 1857; Connecticut, in 1858; and Kentucky, in 1860. In 1916 thirty-four states maintained public institutions (42) for the custody and instruction of mentally defective children.

In classifying the mentally defective, those unable to advance beyond the mentality of normal children from seven to twelve years of age are called *morons*; those with the mentality of normal children from three to seven years are called *imbeciles*; those with the mentality of the normal child up to three years of age are called *idiots*. Naturally, the borderland cases in each division are difficult to classify.

For educational purposes, the mental defectives are divided into two distinct groups. The first comprises the idiots and the low grade imbeciles constituting about one-half of one per cent. of the school population, and are properly institutional charges; the second group includes the high grade imbeciles and morons who may be taught in the public schools in special classes.

The first city to form special classes for this purpose was Dresden in 1865. In this country, Providence organized similar classes in 1896; Chicago and Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1898; Boston, in 1899; and New York City in 1900.

IX

SUMMARY AND CRITICISM

IF we now look down the historical vista which spreads before us the development of secondary education through the centuries, we see from the time of the Greeks to the present that it was, and still is, a class education. With the extension of the privilege of education, there has been little change in the fundamental features of the Greek curriculum. Modern elements—language, history, science—have been so organized and taught under the influence of the older studies that there is little real difference between them with respect to method or purpose.

Secondary education in England, France, and Germany prepares boys to enter higher institutions where they may be prepared for professional and directive careers. An education with such an aim was admirably suited to the social and economic conceptions of the Greeks and the Romans, and is in many ways suited to the European countries of to-day where distinct class distinctions prevail. This education was, and is, narrowly selective with respect to social classes and with respect to the kind of ability or capacity that can

be developed through the study of books. It was not in the past, and is not in the present, suited to the needs of the many. This has been, and is, frankly recognized by the groups mentioned, though exceptional ability to deal with thought as found in books may lift a percentage of poor boys into the upper class school. With this exception, it is not expected and never has been expected that those, other than the select, shall attend the secondary school and the university. For the many, a distinct system of schools, the elementary and continuation, has been evolved in the progress of educational extension. The privilege of education has been extended along class lines and because there are definite classes this kind of extension is satisfactory except where the democratic spirit is developing. In these social-educational systems, the boy and girl have a fair chance to prepare for life, since they are fitted to enter the work which society has definitely set apart for them to do. Schools and society are definitely standardized with respect to one another.

In the United States, on the other hand, as shown by Justice Cooley's decision, we have extended the privilege of education in both the elementary and secondary schools. The door opens sometimes into the kindergarten, sometimes into the first grade and the child may ascend by definite gradations till he has reached the top of the

educational structure. In fact, the system is organized precisely on the supposition that every child will take full advantage of the opportunity to secure a university training; for do not college entrance requirements dominate the secondary school curriculum? If the child for one reason or another does not continue to press on, it is no fault of the privilege which has been extended to him; the struggles of centuries have made it possible that he may fit himself for the life of leisure or for the learned professions. It has extended to the many the liberal education, the class education of the Greeks, Romans, and the western Europeans of to-day. For what more could a poor child, a mediocre child, a child who cares but little for books ask? Justice Cooley said that all children in the country should be given an education as good as the rich man could furnish his son, and, until recently in a few scattered instances, we have extended to all children the privilege of securing that kind of education and nothing else. History points to no other conclusion than this—our school system is really organized for the select few, mentally, socially, and economically. Conditions manifestly demand that in this country we change the conception of democracy in education from identical opportunity to equal opportunity; that we change our notion of securing equality and raising the social index

by pursuing a course of study historically reserved for the elite. Educational facilities must be so extended and so diversified that a reorganized secondary school may offer to the various abilities and desires, which the large number attending makes inevitable, an equal opportunity in many lines and something that each pupil shall feel is productively worth taking.

The extension of the privilege of elementary education to all has been accomplished pretty generally in the countries peopled by the white nations. Secular control is an accomplished fact in many countries and will come in time in those which have not yet taken this step in their development. Free elementary schools, compulsory attendance, Pestalozzian theory, and secular control in practice have changed the aim of elementary education, historically considered. From the time of the Greeks, and under church control to-day, the main aim of elementary education has been, and is, the laying of the proper foundations for habits of action. Under present conditions, as stated above, the aim of elementary education as shown in *practice* is to broaden the child's experience through enriching the course of study; but we are still greatly interested in finding some method and material which will do for the modern child what Homer, or the catechism, the Psalter,

the New Testament, the New England Primer supposedly did for the child of earlier times. Awareness of the problem and of the inability to see any correlation between the information given in school, and laying the foundations of proper conduct, was one of the main reasons for the enthusiastic reception of the Herbartian pedagogy by the teachers of the '90's. The aim of education as set forth by Herbart was moral,—“The one problem, the whole problem of education, may be comprised in a single conception—morality.” He showed in this connection what teachers had been anxiously looking for—how knowledge derived from the course of study, i. e., educative instruction—could influence conduct. But such results seemed not to follow, and we are still concerning ourselves with the problem of elementary education set up centuries ago.

Compulsory education has caused a further development in elementary education by lengthening its term through setting up an age limit when children profitably may begin to attend school, usually at six years of age, and when they safely may begin to work, usually at fourteen. This development in the history of elementary education came first in Europe, and, as has been pointed out, this type of education had no connection with the secondary school in which the boy or girl, from the ninth year on was pursuing for the most part

an entirely different line of work. The elementary school became an eight year school with a curriculum suited to the social class attending. This was the type of school which Horace Mann particularly admired, whose curriculum and methods he praised so highly in his *Seventh Report*. There is little doubt that Mann was highly influential in transplanting the Prussian eight year elementary school and its curriculum to Massachusetts. Be it noted that the Prussian school was complete in itself, had no connection with the secondary school, and that *our* secondary schools in the '40's when Mann was Secretary of the Massachusetts Board had no systematic connection with the elementary schools. The latter schools were particularly fostered by the common school funds of the various states and education was through them extended to the masses. But when secondary education came to be in general demand, it could be administered only by placing it as a step above the eight year school already established and complete in itself.

Is it then at all strange that we find a sharp break between the elementary school and the high school? that the high school studies are so foreign to the boys and girls entering the ninth grade? We have, in extending our educational privileges, combined schools historically developed for absolutely different social classes and with absolutely

different aims. We have extended the privilege, now let us reorganize the system, not only as suggested with respect to abilities and needs, but also in such a way that the sharp lines of demarcation between the elementary school and the secondary school may be eliminated; for there is no reason—social, logical, psychological, or administrative—why such lines should be set as they are in present practice.

JAN 22 1920

